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VOICE OF A COPPER KING: A STUDY OF  
THE (BUTTE) REVEILLE, 1903-1906

By

Daniel J. LaGrande

B. A., San Francisco State College, 1961

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

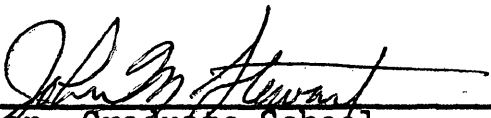
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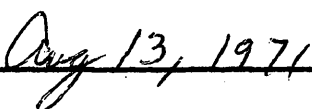
UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1971

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## PREFACE

Much of Montana's history has been molded by a few ambitious, powerful men who fought for control of the state's mineral wealth--men willing to bend public institutions to their private needs, subvert the press for personal gain and exploit popular feeling for economic benefit. Three "copper kings" played a major role in shaping Montana's destiny: William A. Clark, Marcus Daly and F. Augustus Heinze. A single corporation dominated the state for half a century: The Amalgamated Copper Company, which later became the Anaconda Copper Mining Company.

The story of Montana's "copper kings" has been told often; it is a blend of fact and myth (in various proportions, depending on the teller), but it is a tale to which new episodes still are being added. This thesis adds to the story of Montana's press, which was captured during the Clark-Daly fight, held hostage during the Heinze era and kept in bondage during the long years of Anaconda Copper's domination in the state.

This thesis concerns the industrial and political career of F. Augustus Heinze; it examines in particular the weekly newspaper that promoted his fortunes--the Reveille. The thesis is limited to a study of the Reveille beginning

in 1903 when Heinze had become the dominant public figure in Butte, and concluding in 1906 when he sold his mining interests and left Montana for New York. The thesis also shows how Heinze maintained power in Butte and how his foe, the Amalgamated Copper Company, curtailed his political influence and limited his business ventures.

The Clark-Daly feud, which preceded Heinze's rise to power in Montana, has been well documented, so the story is not re-examined in this study; an adequate biography of Heinze exists, so his life story is not repeated here; and only the major Butte newspapers that competed with the Reveille were examined as part of this study.

There were several problems in the preparation of this thesis. First, there is little firsthand information about Heinze's business activities or the operation of his newspapers. Second, P. A. O'Farrell, editor of the Reveille, left Montana after the 1904 election, leaving only the comments and ideas he expressed in the Reveille; Richard R. Kilroy, editor of the Butte Evening News (Heinze's second Butte newspaper), remained in Montana, but his daughter said a member of the family destroyed the papers and records left by her father after his death. Third, few men from the Heinze era remain alive, so there are few personal accounts of life in Butte shortly after 1900. Because of the scarcity of primary sources, most of the information for the thesis was drawn from Montana newspapers and

national periodicals that reported on various phases of the copper warfare. Since the thesis primarily is a study of a newspaper, the Reveille is a major source of information. Editorials and news stories are quoted rather extensively to document the paper's position on important issues and to demonstrate the techniques used by the Reveille to mold public opinion.

Several conclusions emerge from the study, and a theory is offered to help explain how Heinze was able to maintain power despite formidable political and corporate opposition. The theory suggests Heinze's unique attribute was an ability to discern the prevalent political mood in Butte and maintain power by convincing many of the miners and merchants he championed their cause.

The thesis, then, is a study of one man's use of a weekly newspaper to influence public opinion, appeal for political support and promote his industrial career.

Chapter I reiterates the beginning of the copper war and Heinze's rise to power in Montana.

Chapter II: Heinze's use of the Reveille to manipulate public opinion and oppose movements inimical to his business operation.

Chapter III: the limitations of the Reveille and how Amalgamated broke Heinze's control of public opinion by economic intimidation.

Chapter IV: Heinze's efforts to oppose the

Amalgamated company's political might and regain control of public opinion.

Chapter V: how Heinze retaliated against Amalgamated by boring into the company's mines and using the Reveille to suppress and distort news of his underground raids.

Chapter VI: Heinze's efforts to gain political control of the state; how Amalgamated used its press in a successful counter attack.

Chapter VII: the Reveille's use of political cartoons to promote Heinze's cause.

Chapter VIII: the rise of the Butte Evening News and the decline of the Reveille; a theory to explain Heinze's popular support in his fight against Amalgamated.

There are two areas worthy of further study relating to this thesis. The first would be an examination of Heinze's use of the Rossland Miner to promote his business venture in British Columbia. The second would be a study of the Butte Evening News, with emphasis on the paper's problems in competing against three other Butte dailies.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE COPPER WAR BEGINS

The President's carriage wound along Butte's hilly streets, preceded by a band, strutting policemen, mounted roughriders and marching national guardsmen; huge crowds cheered and applauded and 10,000 children waved miniature flags. Following the President in the long procession--a score of carriages carrying public officials, dignitaries and citizens of the robust mining camp. Others leaned from windows and waved from rooftops, adding greetings to the shrill salute echoing from whistles at a dozen mines on the hill.<sup>1</sup>

President Theodore Roosevelt stood in his carriage, waved and, when the procession reached the Finlen Hotel, delivered a rousing speech punctuated by the applause of thousands of Butte residents. Then the President was escorted to the Thornton Hotel for a banquet sponsored by Butte's rotund and jovial mayor, Pat Mullins. The guests at the head table chatted amiably and toasted the President's health; soft music and the buzz of conversation mixed with the fragrance of fresh bouquets and the aroma of fine viands.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>(Butte) Reveille, May 29, 1903, pp. 1, 5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

The President made his final appearance at Columbia Gardens, a green oasis and recreation area just beyond the grime and grit of Butte. There he spoke as a guest of the Trades and Labor assembly, and he was cheered repeatedly by a crowd of 8,000. The President was driven to the depot where he boarded his special railroad car. The train pulled out at eleven o'clock and Mr. Roosevelt continued south on his tour.<sup>3</sup>

For slightly more than seven hours on a sparkling day in May of 1903, the actions and words of President Theodore Roosevelt stilled a battle that had dominated the economic and political life of Butte for three years and would continue for another three. The battle was waged in the courts, the legislature, board rooms of corporations, polling places and in the press. It had national implications and a national audience.

One man at the depot to see the President off and at the head table at the Presidential banquet was F. Augustus Heinze, mining engineer, businessman, political leader and, although he did not admit it, backer of the Reveille. Heinze, at 33, was fighting the Amalgamated Copper company, the most powerful economic interest in Butte.

Standing with Heinze at the Butte depot was William A. Clark, United States Senator from Montana and a former political ally of Heinze's. Clark had arrived in the gold

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



mining camp of Bannack, then part of the Idaho Territory, in 1863 (the Montana Territory was established May 26, 1864). Within seven years Clark was a prosperous businessman and within two decades he was a millionaire.<sup>4</sup>

A third man certainly would have been at the depot, but Marcus Daly had been dead almost three years. Daly had played a major role in Butte--matching wits and money with Clark for political supremacy.

Heinze's fight was in a sense an extension of the long feud between Clark and Daly. The issues had changed but the tactics and weapons selected by Clark and Daly were readily used by Heinze.

Clark and Daly had been business competitors. From the business rivalry emerged a political feud. It began with a congressional race, progressed to a fight over location of the state capital and reached its climax with a bitter contest for a seat in the United States Senate. Heinze played a role only in the final contest for the Senate seat, but he adapted the strategy of the political fight for his struggle with Amalgamated--a struggle basically economic.

The Clark-Daly feud began in 1888, a year before Heinze arrived in Butte. Clark, taciturn, ran his business

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<sup>4</sup>Forrest L. Foor, "The Senatorial Aspirations of William A. Clark, 1898-1901," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1941), p. 3.

affairs almost single-handedly and remained aloof from his employes and business associates. Daly was a gregarious, genial Irishman. He moved among the grimy, rough miners as easily as he engaged in business activities with men of wealth and influence. Clark, a former school teacher and business entrepreneur, and Daly, an Irish immigrant and self-made mining operator, had two things in common: Both had money (they had risen from humble beginnings to positions of wealth) and both were Democrats.<sup>5</sup>

The cause of the Clark-Daly feud has been the subject of much speculation. One writer suggests the dispute was prompted by a derisive remark by Clark, who supposedly told two of Daly's business associates that Daly was an ignorant miner.<sup>6</sup> A contemporary historian attributes the beginning of the feud to Daly's pragmatic business operations. This explanation seems more plausible. Clark was a candidate for territorial delegate to congress in 1888; the Democrats held sway in Montana, so Clark fully expected to win the election.<sup>7</sup>

Daly, according to this theory, upset Clark's plan by supporting the Republican candidate, Thomas Carter.

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<sup>5</sup>Ira B. Joralemon, Romantic Copper (New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, 1934), pp. 70-76.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>7</sup>Kenneth Ross Toole, "The Genesis of the Clark-Daly Feud," Montana: Magazine of Western History, I (April, 1951), pp. 21-33.

Daly acted not out of dislike for Clark so much as economic self-interest. A suit had been filed against the Montana Improvement Company, partially owned by Daly.

The shrewd Irishman thought the Republicans would win the national election in 1888, so he agreed to back Carter, who he felt would have more influence in Washington than the Democratic candidate, William A. Clark. In exchange for Daly's support, Carter was to use his influence in Washington for the dismissal of the suit against the Montana Improvement Company. Daly's action split the Democratic party in Montana and Carter went to Washington. Clark blamed his defeat on Daly; thus began the feud that ended only with Daly's death.<sup>8</sup>

The effect of the feud was noticeable first on the pages of Clark's newspaper, the Butte Miner. Clark had purchased the Miner in 1878 and after his defeat in the election of 1888, the Miner began an attack on Daly.<sup>9</sup>

Anaconda (founded by Daly) had a paper, the Anaconda Review, but Daly did not follow Clark's example and buy an existing paper. Instead, he established a paper and recruited a respected professor and editor from the east, John Durston, to edit it. The Anaconda Standard began publication September 4, 1889. Its plant was one of the finest

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Foor, "Senatorial Aspirations," p. 12.

in that part of the west. Estimates of the cost of starting the Standard range from \$30,000 to more than \$100,000.<sup>10</sup> One writer pegged the cost at \$5 million.<sup>11</sup>

The papers extended the fight beyond the economic interests of the principals, and it soon involved spectators, who began choosing sides. Montana soon was divided into Clark and Daly camps.

The first major battle involving the newspapers was in 1894. At stake: Location of the state capital. Two lesser skirmishes had preceded the capital fight, and in both Clark's political ambitions were frustrated.

Montana had two legislatures in 1889—one Democratic, one Republican. Election irregularities in Silver Bow County had prompted the dual assemblies, each claiming to be the legitimate legislative body. Each met separately and each elected two United States senators: William A. Clark and Martin Maginnis by the Democratic legislature, Wilbur F. Sanders and T. C. Power by the Republican legislature. The dispute was resolved in Congress, where the Republicans, who controlled both houses, seated Power and Sanders.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>John P. Fought, "John Durston, editor: The Anaconda Standard in the Clark-Daly Feud" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1959), pp. 18-19.

<sup>11</sup>Foor, "Senatorial Aspirations," p. 12.

<sup>12</sup>Kenneth Ross Toole, "Marcus Daly: A Study of Business in Politics" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1948), p. 117.

The other skirmish was in 1893, when Clark again sought election to the U. S. Senate to succeed Sanders, who had drawn a short term. By this time there was no doubt about the animosity between Clark and Daly. Daly gained control of the legislature and blocked Clark's election with a coalition of Populists and Democrats. Clark countered by trying to buy votes. Each side accused the other of bribery, and the session deadlocked with a three-way split and Clark three votes short of election. The legislature adjourned without electing a senator, and the seat remained vacant from 1893 to 1895.<sup>13</sup>

From the beginning, Clark wanted to keep Helena as the capital, Daly wanted it moved to Anaconda and both spent huge sums in their crusades. Clark's Miner and Daly's Standard made the fight the overriding issue of the time. The basic appeal was to emotion, not reason, and the voters were treated to band music, fireworks and parades. Cartoonists used the capital fight as the subject of their drawings, and the Miner and Standard were filled with charges of bribery and warnings of corporate influence in politics. When the vote was tallied, Helena had retained the capital and Clark had won his first big victory over Daly.<sup>14</sup>

The 1894 capital fight set the pattern for political

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<sup>13</sup>Joralemon, Romantic Copper, p. 79.

<sup>14</sup>Toole, "Marcus Daly," pp. 127-33.

campaigns in Montana. The principal weapons were money—and a willingness to spend it freely—and newspapers that would devote their pages and the talents of their writers and cartoonists to the cause. Clark and Daly had selected the weapons; F. Augustus Heinze would use them with skill and daring.

Heinze had arrived in Butte early in September 1889. The 19-year-old graduate of the Columbia School of Mines went to work for the Boston & Montana Company for five dollars a day, assigned to survey the company's mines. After work he talked with miners and old-timers who knew about the development of Butte's mines. Heinze's work underground, his study of the ore deposits and vein systems and his seemingly casual saloon and street-corner conversations with knowledgeable persons convinced him Butte's vast copper resources easily could provide yet another fortune—his. So one year after he had arrived in Butte, Heinze resigned from the Boston & Montana Company and returned to New York to raise capital to build a smelter and acquire a mine.<sup>15</sup>

Not until 1892, though, when his father died and left him \$50,000, could Heinze take the first step toward his financial goal. He used his inheritance to form the Montana Ore Purchasing Company, which built a smelter,

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<sup>15</sup>Sarah McNelis, "The Life of F. Augustus Heinze" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1947), pp. 21-24. [For a chronology added to the thesis, see: Sarah McNelis, Copper King at War (University of Montana Press, 1968).]

leased the Rarus and Glengarry mines and began mining and smelting copper ore.<sup>16</sup>

In 1894 Heinze went to British Columbia, where he demonstrated the operating techniques he would use so effectively a few years later in Butte. Heinze was just another ambitious young man when he went to Canada, and the big operators in Butte paid little attention to him.

Heinze built a smelter at Trail, on the Columbia River, to process ore mined at Rossland. Then he built a narrow-gauge railroad from Trail to Rossland, a distance of 20 miles. He had a contract with the operators of the Leroi, the richest mine in the Rossland district, to handle their ore.<sup>17</sup>

Subsequently, Heinze acquired the Rossland Miner, the only newspaper in the region, and hired P. A. O'Farrell as editor. O'Farrell began an attack on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, alleging it exploited the people. After O'Farrell succeeded in stirring up public opinion against the railroad, Heinze received a 600,000-acre grant from the British Columbia Parliament to extend his railroad to the Pacific. Heinze even had a name for his railroad: The

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-29.

<sup>17</sup>John Fahey, Inland Empire; D. C. Corbin and Spokane (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), pp. 150-56.

Columbia and Pacific. By this time the Canadian Pacific had become concerned about Heinze's aggressive plans and in 1898 bought him out for nearly \$1 million.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, Heinze was expanding his Butte operations: He had fulfilled an ambition to build a custom smelter and he had acquired several mines. From the beginning, Heinze was in business with his brothers. The oldest, Arthur, held 25 per cent of the capital stock of the Montana Ore Purchasing Company; Otto held 15 per cent, and F. Augustus owned 51 per cent. Two other associates held small blocks of stock.<sup>19</sup>

The structure of the Montana Ore Purchasing Company reflected Heinze's intense desire to be his own boss and control his own business. His strong sense of independence also led him to fight rather than join the Amalgamated Copper Company.

In 1895 Heinze used his option to buy the Rarus, which he had leased from the Boston & Montana Company for two years. The Montana Ore Purchasing Company had only \$30,000, a fraction of the \$300,000 sale price of the Rarus. Undaunted, Heinze convinced his brothers the \$30,000 could be used for the down payment and the ore would provide the cash

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<sup>18</sup>McNelis, "Life of Heinze," pp. 33-37. [There is disagreement on the sale price of Heinze's Canadian properties. Fahey on page 182 of Inland Empire says Heinze's private secretary put the price at \$1,250,000, Otto Heinze said it was \$900,000 and the Canadian Pacific's offer was \$800,000.]

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 27.



needed to pay the balance within 12 months. Heinze was right, for the Rarus produced rich copper ore and became a major asset in his expanding domain.<sup>20</sup>

The Rarus also was to become a legal liability. Heinze spent most of his time in British Columbia between 1894 and 1896. In the summer of 1896 he returned to Butte owing to the increasingly hostile relationship between his company and the Boston & Montana Company. From 1896 until he sold his Canadian interests in 1898, Heinze lived in Butte, and made occasional trips to British Columbia.<sup>21</sup>

Heinze had learned the engineer in charge of his Butte properties, C. S. Batterman, was about to leave and join the Boston & Montana Company. When Heinze arrived in Butte, Batterman told him his Rarus mine was worthless and the ore veins in the mine apexed<sup>22</sup> on Boston & Montana property. Batterman advised Heinze to sell out. But Heinze

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-30. [McNelis says the exact price of the Rarus is uncertain. She quotes Otto Heinze as her source for the \$300,000 figure and the account of the sale. However, other writers, including F. L. Foor and I. B. Joralemon, put the price at \$400,000.]

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-45.

<sup>22</sup>The federal mining law of 1872 defined a claim as a surface area at least 1,500 feet long and 600 feet wide in which a vein apexed or came to the surface. The claim locator was permitted to follow a vein as it dipped beneath the surface, so long as he removed ore only from the 1,500-foot length of his claim. The law did not restrict him, however, from following a vein beyond the side boundaries of his

decided to dig in--quite literally he dug in to the adjoining Boston property. Heinze expanded his operation in the Rarus and, as he did, discovered valuable ore in operations that seemed to ignore the Rarus boundaries.<sup>23</sup> Heinze ordered his miners to dig the ore from the neighboring Michael Davitt and haul it to the surface through the Rarus shaft. The Davitt ore was rushed to Heinze's smelter.<sup>24</sup>

Boston & Montana officials reacted angrily to news of Heinze's incursion into the Michael Davitt. The Boston company asserted ore from Heinze's Rarus apexed in their Davitt. Under the apex law, the Boston firm could claim the mineral wealth in Heinze's mine. Heinze was not about to surrender his property on the word of engineers--his own or his competitor's. He studied the maps and charts and concluded there was indeed an apex--but Heinze claimed the Davitt ore apexed on Rarus property.<sup>25</sup>

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claim, even when the vein dipped under the surface of adjacent claims. Disputes over ownership of ore deposits that crossed side boundaries of claims were handled by the courts as equity cases. The judge determined which litigant owned the disputed ore deposit. Unless there was a procedural error during the trial, the judge's decision was final. See Curtis H. Lindley, A Treatise on the American Law Relating to Mines and Mineral Lands (San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Company, 2nd ed.; 1903), Vol. II, Title VI, Chapt. III, para. 581-598.

<sup>23</sup>Christopher P. Connolly, "The Fight of the Copper Kings," McClure's Magazine, May, 1907, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup>Carl B. Glasscock, The War of the Copper Kings (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1935), p. 153.

<sup>25</sup>McNelis, "Life of Heinze," pp. 41-42.

Heinze's next move demonstrated courage as well as cunning. In February, 1897, he went to Boston to see A. S. Bigelow, president of the Boston & Montana Company. Heinze knew the Michael Davitt, next to his Rarus, had ore deposits worth millions of dollars. When Heinze offered to buy the Davitt for \$250,000 to avoid a legal dispute between his company and the Boston firm, Bigelow reacted indignantly. He said the offer was an insult and, futhermore, his firm had been treated badly in Montana. Bigelow told Heinze he was going to start legal action against him immediately. Heinze countered by warning Bigelow he would fight back in a campaign that would be heard across the country.<sup>26</sup>

Heinze kept his word. By the end of November, 1897, 31 suits were pending between Heinze and the Boston & Montana Company.<sup>27</sup> The litigation tied up the Butte courts for a decade.

The legal struggle between Heinze and the Boston copper interests portended a more ominous struggle over Butte's mineral riches. On April 27, 1899, the Amalgamated Copper Company was incorporated in Trenton, New Jersey.<sup>28</sup> The New Jersey corporation was to alter radically the mining industry in Butte and leave a scar on the body politic of Montana.

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<sup>26</sup>Connolly, "Fight of the Copper Kings," p. 5.

<sup>27</sup>Robert G. Raymer, Montana: The Land and the People, I (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1930), p. 471.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 477.

Amalgamated was formed as a holding company. Two members of its three-man executive committee, William G. Rockefeller and Henry H. Rogers, were associated with the Standard Oil Company, a powerful and widely hated trust. Amalgamated began to acquire Butte properties to consolidate the copper resources of Montana under one corporate umbrella.<sup>29</sup>

The fight Heinze had been waging was transformed from a legal dispute to a deadly economic battle--and Heinze was clearly the underdog. Heinze adroitly identified Standard Oil as his new adversary:

On account of the mineral wealth and resources of some sections of this commonwealth, we are confronted in the State of Montana by the avarice and cupidity of one of the most powerful band of pirates that the history of the United States, aye, of the world, has ever seen. I refer to the Standard Oil Corporation.<sup>30</sup>

As Heinze braced to meet his new foe, Clark and Daly prepared to continue their fight. There had been no confrontations after the costly capital fight. In 1899 Clark renewed his effort to gain a Senate seat. Clark was elected, but not seated.

The makeup of the legislature after the election of 1898 did not augur well for Clark's senatorial ambition. The Daly faction of the Democratic party swept Silver Bow

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<sup>29</sup>Kenneth Ross Toole, "When Big Money Came to Butte," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XLIV (January, 1953), pp. 26-27.

<sup>30</sup>Fritz A. Heinze, The Political Situation in Montana, 1900-1902 (Butte, Montana, July 24, 1902), p. 23.

County; all Clark's legislative candidates were defeated. The legislature convened January 2, 1899, amid rumors of easy money, scandal and memories of the extravagant capital campaign five years earlier.<sup>31</sup> Liquor flowed, rumors spread and money changed hands. Fred Whiteside, senator from Flathead County, finally made public what had been assumed in private. He dramatically displayed on the Senate floor four envelopes containing \$30,000 cash. Whiteside told the senators and spectators in the galleries that the money came from agents of William A. Clark and was evidence of Clark's scheme to buy his election to the U. S. Senate.<sup>32</sup>

The reaction of Daly's Standard and Clark's Miner revealed the degree to which the independent role of the press had been subverted to the personal needs and prejudices of newspaper owners. The press account of the Whiteside exposure also demonstrated the calumny and invective that passed for reporting in some Montana newspapers.

The Standard reported the Whiteside revelation was proof of Clark's bribery of legislators. The Miner claimed Whiteside was part of a conspiracy against Clark--a conspiracy masterminded by Daly.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Glasscock, War of the Copper Kings, pp. 170-72.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 172-73.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 173-75.

Ironically, the bribery charges led to the unseating of Whiteside, and Clark was elected despite testimony that his attorney, John B. Wellcome, had offered cash bribes to legislators. Whiteside also testified Wellcome offered him \$300,000 to keep quiet about the vote-buying scheme.<sup>34</sup>

Whiteside attributed Clark's election to control of Montana newspapers as well as bribery:

The power of money was shown by the quick recovery of Clark's forces. They delt out money in unlimited amounts. If an editor refused to accept the money, his newspaper, plant and good will were bought out, lock, stock and barrel, and a new man was put in to run the paper in the interest of Clark's candidacy. Men were sent all over the state to make these deals, and the result was the publication of many columns eulogizing Clark and condemning those who oppose him.<sup>35</sup>

Daly's forces also bought and influenced Montana newspapers. Daly acquired the Livingston Enterprise, the Carbon County Democrat and papers in Madison and Ravalli counties. Daly reportedly bought the Bozeman Chronicle outright for \$11,000.<sup>36</sup>

One writer suggests many Montana newspaper owners willingly joined sides in the contest between wealthy, powerful men who wanted to control the press and that Montana's

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<sup>34</sup>Dorothy M. Johnson, ed., "Three Hundred Grand!," (From the Unpublished Journals of Fred Whiteside) Montana: The Magazine of Western History X (January, 1960), pp. 43-44.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>36</sup>Foor, "Senatorial Aspirations," pp. 90-91.

sparse population and the high cost of material and labor made it difficult to operate a newspaper profitably:

It was largely because of the interest in newspaper profits that editors were eager to enlist the interest of wealthy men in the campaign. The more important the contest, and the closer the race, the better it was for the newspaper men.<sup>37</sup>

What newspaper owners gained by selling out to the highest bidder, the public lost in truth, veracity and independence--a loss that was to be felt for decades. Neither the public nor politicians, however, seemed concerned about bribery, corruption and control of the press in Montana in 1899. Fred Whiteside reflected the laissez-faire attitude--in public as well as private life--by defending those who offered or received bribes. According to Whiteside, legislators who accepted Clark's money usually were poor men, defeated and disappointed in life; therefore, public opinion condoned their use of public office and acceptance of bribes to improve their private lives. Whiteside even sympathized with the man who humiliated him--he said Clark was a victim of circumstances, encouraged to use bribery by advisers who knew they would get some of the cash themselves.<sup>38</sup>

Whiteside may have been an unusually gracious and tolerant loser, but Daly was not. Clark had been elected, but

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-93.

<sup>38</sup>Johnson, "Three Hundred Grand!," p. 47.

once again Daly outmaneuvered him. Daly agreed to finance an investigation of Clark's election and submit the findings to the U. S. Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. The committee found Clark guilty of bribery and corruption. Clark resigned the seat before the Senate acted formally against him.<sup>39</sup>

The Governor of Montana thwarted Clark's final scheme to regain the seat. In the governor's absence, the lieutenant governor appointed Clark to the seat from which he had just resigned. When the governor returned, he rescinded the appointment and denounced Clark for using another form of trickery to regain his political position.<sup>40</sup>

The would-be senator returned to Montana to map strategy for electing a state legislature that would return him to Congress in 1901. Clark's next campaign, though, was to have two new elements--F. A. Heinze and the Standard Oil Company.

Heinze was involved in several legal battles by 1899. His main antagonists were the Boston & Montana Company and the Butte & Boston Company, both controlled by a group of Boston financiers. The financially troubled Butte & Boston Company's property had been sold at an

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<sup>39</sup>Work Projects Administration, Copper Camp (New York: Hastings House, 1943), p. 38.

<sup>40</sup>Joseph Kinsey Howard, Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome (New illus. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 68.



auction in February, 1897, and a new firm, the Butte and Boston Consolidated Mining Company, had been created. It had an interlocking directorate with the Boston & Montana Company. Heinze's old nemesis, A. S. Bigelow, was on the boards of both firms.<sup>41</sup>

The first litigation involved Heinze's Rarus and the Boston company's Michael Davitt mine. At issue: Rights to the rich ore deposits in the Davitt. Heinze claimed the Davitt ore apexed in his Rarus, so he had a right to follow the vein into adjoining Davitt property. The Boston firm asserted the Rarus vein apexed in their Davitt, and they filed a suit to establish title to the ore in both mines.<sup>42</sup>

The legal dispute reached the court in March, 1898. Judge Hiram Knowles of the Federal District Court in Butte directed the jury to find in favor of the Boston firm, but it ruled in favor of Heinze.<sup>43</sup>

The action of the jury, which had risked a contempt of court charge by refusing to follow the judge's instructions, indicated Heinze's popularity and growing political strength. Judge Knowles was forced to set another trial. Meantime, the judge issued an injunction stopping Heinze from working the disputed claims.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Raymer, Montana, I, p. 462.

<sup>42</sup>Glasscock, War of the Copper Kings, p. 223.

<sup>43</sup>McNelis, "Life of Heinze," p. 76.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

Another phase in Heinze's legal battle began in April, 1898. The Boston company, aware of the hazards of waging legal warfare on unfamiliar territory, shifted the battle to closer, more hospitable terrain. Without the consent of the stockholders, the Boston & Montana Company was transferred to New York April 6, 1898.<sup>45</sup>

A stockholders meeting was set for June 6 to ratify the action of the directors. Before the meeting, however, two of Heinze's lieutenants bought stock in the Boston company. James Forrester, an attorney, and John MacGinnis, vice president of the Montana Ore Purchasing Company, each bought 100 shares of stock--just enough to give them legal standing as minority stockholders.<sup>46</sup>

Two days before the stockholders meeting, Forrester and MacGinnis sought an injunction asking the court in Butte to block the stock transfer and appoint a receiver for the Boston firm's properties. District Court Judge William Clancy granted the injunction, but he did not appoint a receiver.<sup>47</sup>

One writer, a public official<sup>48</sup> in Butte at the time, says Judge Clancy did not appoint a receiver because lawyers

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<sup>45</sup>Raymer, Montana, I, p. 472.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Christopher P. Connolly was prosecuting attorney in Butte from 1897 to 1901.

for the Boston & Montana Company had promised to transfer their New York firm back to Montana. But the promise was not kept. Even after the Montana Supreme Court upheld the lower court, and ruled the citizenship of a corporation can be transferred only by unanimous consent of the stockholders, the Boston company remained in New York.<sup>49</sup>

On December 15, 1898, Judge Clancy appointed Thomas Hinds, another associate of Heinze's, receiver for the Boston & Montana Company's property in Butte. The company barricaded its property and put guards at the mines to keep the receiver from taking over. The Boston firm also asked the state Supreme Court to halt the receivership.<sup>50</sup>

The Supreme Court denied the request. On April 8, 1899, a year after Forrester bought 100 shares of stock in the Boston & Montana Company, the firm turned over its Butte property to the receiver. Again the Boston company turned to the Supreme Court. The court granted the firm's request, and ordered the receiver to return the property to the Boston & Montana Company's officers.<sup>51</sup> Judge Clancy allowed Hinds \$200,000 for his services as receiver. Hinds held the property five and one-half days; his expenses totaled \$131.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Christopher P. Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote (New York: Covici, Friede, Inc., 1938), p. 222.

<sup>50</sup>Raymer, Montana, I, pp. 472-73.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, p. 223.

The receiver was ordered to return the property April 13, 1899, but Judge Clancy retained jurisdiction until June, 1900, when the Montana Supreme Court ordered the lower court to discontinue the receivership. Heinze kept the Boston company tangled in litigation for two years--evidently his prime objective. According to Otto Heinze, the minority stock device was used by the Heinzes to frustrate Standard Oil plans to form a copper trust in Montana.<sup>53</sup>

Another legal dispute propelled Heinze into politics. In November, 1898, Heinze agreed to assume Miles Finlen's lease on the Minnie Healy mine. Finlen had unsuccessfully invested \$54,000 in the mine. Heinze promised to repay Finlen within two years. The mine was considered worthless, but Heinze wanted to find out if veins from the Piccolo and Gambetta mines, owned by the Boston & Montana Company, apexed on Healy property. If they did, Heinze could claim the ore in the Boston properties under the apex law.<sup>54</sup>

The agreement between Heinze and Finlen was to become the basis for a law suit and a long struggle for control of the Minnie Healy. Heinze claimed a verbal contract with Finlen gave him a lease with an option to buy the Healy. Heinze also said Finlen agreed to initiate a suit against

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<sup>53</sup>McNelis, "Life of Heinze," p. 86.

<sup>54</sup>Raymer, Montana, I, pp. 487-88.

the Boston & Montana Company, claiming ore from the Piccolo apexed in the Healy. Finlen told a different story. He claimed he had agreed only to give Heinze temporary possession of the Healy, so Heinze could determine if veins from the Piccolo and Gambetta apexed on Healy property. Finlen said Heinze was to have an option to purchase only if the two agreed later on a price.<sup>55</sup>

Finlen left for the east without signing an agreement with Heinze, who took possession of the Healy in late December, 1898. Within a few days Heinze discovered valuable ore deposits. News of Heinze's discovery reached New York, where Marcus Daly, William G. Rockefeller and Henry H. Rogers were planning to consolidate Daly's interests and the Boston & Montana Company in the Amalgamated Copper Company. Daly ordered Finlen back to Butte to get Heinze out of the Minnie Healy. But Finlen was too late. Armed guards at the top of the Healy's shaft kept Finlen from reclaiming his property. Finlen sued for possession of the mine. Before the suit came to trial, Finlen sold his interest in the Minnie Healy to the newly created Amalgamated Copper Company.<sup>56</sup>

Heinze was wealthy and influential by the turn of the century, but without control of the district court in Silver Bow County, he faced legal and financial disaster.

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<sup>55</sup>Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, pp. 230-31.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 231-32.

Cases filed in district court supposedly alternated between Judges John Lindsay and William Clancy, but Heinze's cases invariably went to Judge Clancy's division. Judge Lindsay said a clerk rigged the case numbers, to make sure Judge Clancy received Heinze's suits. Describing himself as a model jurist who ruled honestly and fairly, Judge Lindsay viewed his associate with disdain: He said Judge Clancy was a buffoon, ignorant of the rules of procedure, more interested in politics than justice.<sup>57</sup>

Judge Lindsay, a Scottish immigrant, was Marcus Daly's private secretary before entering law practice.<sup>58</sup> Judge Clancy, a Populist, had moved from Missouri to Montana in 1893.<sup>59</sup> Finlen's suit to regain the Minnie Healy had been filed in Judge Lindsay's court. Both judges were up for re-election in 1900; Heinze prepared to re-elect Clancy and replace Lindsay.

William A. Clark, back in Butte for the fall campaign, prepared to elect a legislature amenable to his senatorial ambitions. Clark and Heinze formed an alliance and soon captured the state Democratic party. They gained labor support by granting their miners an eight-hour work day. When the Amalgamated Copper Company (which employed more

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<sup>57</sup>John Lindsay, Amazing Experiences of a Judge (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1939), pp. 52-57.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., pp. 31, 43.

<sup>59</sup>Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, A History of Montana, III (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1913), p. 1520.

men than Clark and Heinze) kept its miners on a ten-hour work day, Heinze began an oratorical attack on the "evil trust." The press joined the campaign: Heinze's weekly, the Reveille, edited by P. A. O'Farrell, and Clark's Miner warned that Standard Oil would dominate Montana and miners would be forced to live in company towns if the Clark-Heinze forces were defeated at the polls. Daly had continued to buy newspapers across the state following the 1899 legislative session, to offset Clark's control of the press. By the fall of 1900, Amalgamated, which had taken over Daly's interests, had purchased or established newspapers where the company had business interests.<sup>60</sup>

Although control of the state's press had shifted from Clark to Amalgamated, the Reveille and Miner defined the issue of the campaign: They claimed Amalgamated was a creation of Standard Oil, a trust that would subjugate the laborer and crush the independent businessman. Heinze repeated the theme in his speeches, recounting Standard Oil's efforts to drive him from Montana and appealing for the miners' support in his fight:

My fight against the Standard Oil is your fight. In this glorious battle to save the State from the minions of the Rockefellers and the piracy of the Standard Oil you and I are partners. We stand or fall together. We sink or swim together. If they crush me to-morrow they will crush you the day following. They will cut your wages and raise the tariff in the company store on every bite you eat and every rag you wear.

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<sup>60</sup>Foor, "Senatorial Aspirations," pp. 208-31.

They will force you to dwell in Standard Oil houses while you live and you must be buried in Standard Oil coffins when you die.<sup>61</sup>

Interest in the campaign was heightened by popular songs, vaudeville performances, bands, glee clubs, clowns, oratory and rallies—all whipping up popular feeling against Amalgamated and Standard Oil. Clark provided the money, Heinze furnished the excitement; the combination was irresistible. Heinze re-elected Judge Clancy and elected Edward Harney to replace Judge Lindsay; Clark elected a legislature that would send him to the U. S. Senate. Daly had been ill throughout the campaign, unable to come to Montana to rally his supporters against his old foe. A week after the election, Daly died in New York at age 58. By the end of the 1901 legislature, Clark had made peace with Amalgamated. Heinze was left alone in his fight against the "evil trust."<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Heinze, Political Situation, p. 61.

<sup>62</sup>Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, pp. 236-42.



## CHAPTER II

### 'STANDARD OIL: ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

Patrick A. O'Farrell was a big, imposing Irishman with piercing eyes, a thick handlebar moustache and gray hair thinning in his 50th year. He stood erect and tall, looking every inch a strong, tenacious fighter.<sup>1</sup> O'Farrell thought of himself as a fighter, battling a monopolistic corporation on behalf of the common people.<sup>2</sup>

O'Farrell was proud of his Irish ancestry: His grandfather and father had worked for Irish independence; his father had known Thomas Francis Meagher in Ireland. The Irish struggle for independence was more than a vivid recollection to O'Farrell; he had known Charles Parnell, Gavan Duffy, Michael Davitt, T. P. O'Connor, John Dillon and other Irish leaders. O'Farrell said he had turned down requests from Irish leaders to return to Ireland and enter Parliament, because he would not give up his American citizenship and swear allegiance to England. Educated in

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with E. G. Leipheimer, Flathead Lake, Montana, September 1, 1968.

<sup>2</sup>O'Farrell is an elusive figure in Montana history. He is described as an itinerant journalist who had worked for eastern newspapers before joining Heinze in British Columbia. He did, however, write of his past and offer his personal views in the Reveille; therefore, the Reveille is the primary source of information about O'Farrell.

Catholic schools, O'Farrell became a journalist; he lived in major European cities and traveled to Egypt, Australia, Canada and the United States, "and watched the fierce struggle for existence, the heartbreaks, the hunger, the wants and the poverty of millions and the helplessness of governments or philanthropists in the face of human suffering."<sup>3</sup>

O'Farrell edited the Reveille, a Butte newspaper usually published weekly, sometimes more frequently, to promote the political and economic interests of F. Augustus Heinze. The Reveille began publication in 1898, changed its name to the People August 6, 1901, and suspended publication March 31, 1902. It resumed August 28, 1902, as the Reveille, and was discontinued October 22, 1909.<sup>4</sup> During Butte's copper war, the Reveille attacked Heinze's antagonists; after Heinze sold his Butte interests in February, 1906, the Reveille's voice was muted.

Heinze had identified the Standard Oil Company as his enemy during the 1900 political campaign: He told his Montana audiences the eastern capitalists who controlled Standard Oil had created the Amalgamated Copper Company—a copper trust that would rival the feared Rockefeller oil trust. To add

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<sup>3</sup>Reveille, April 14, 1905, p. 8. Also: Reveille, March 13, 1903, p. 1; Reveille, November 7, 1904, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Winifred Gregory, ed., American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1937), p. 378. [There are no complete files of the Reveille. The Historical Society of Montana Library, Helena, has the Reveille from September, 1900, to October 22, 1909.]

credibility to his story, Heinze described his meeting with Henry H. Rogers, chief executive of the Standard Oil Company, in New York in 1898. According to Heinze, Rogers had explained his plan for a copper combine, as big and rich as Standard Oil. Heinze said he rejected Rogers' scheme, though Marcus Daly joined the copper trust and became president of the Amalgamated Copper Company.<sup>5</sup>

Through the Reveille, O'Farrell repeated Heinze's attack on Amalgamated and Standard Oil--the "evil trust." Few Montana residents doubted Amalgamated was a creation of Standard Oil. Governor Robert B. Smith had warned the Montana legislature in 1899 that Standard Oil was behind a bill to permit stock of a corporation to be transferred with approval of only two-thirds of the stockholders. Despite warnings of Standard Oil plans to form a copper trust, the legislature passed a bill over the governor's veto.<sup>6</sup> Any doubts of Wall Street influence in Montana were erased when Amalgamated was created in April, 1899: Marcus Daly was the president, but two members of the executive committee, William G. Rockefeller and Henry H. Rogers, represented Standard Oil.

As one historian has observed, Montana progressed from a frontier territory to an industrial center within 20

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<sup>5</sup>Fritz A. Heinze, The Political Situation in Montana, 1900-1902 (Butte, Montana, July 24, 1902), pp. 8-10.

<sup>6</sup>Christopher P. Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote (New York: Covici, Friede, Inc., 1938), pp. 179-81.

years; however, outside capital was required to develop Montana's natural resources. The capitalists who financed the industrial development controlled Montana from Boston and New York.<sup>7</sup> Amalgamated, a large, impersonal corporation associated with Standard Oil, was an ideal target for Heinze's political attacks and O'Farrell's editorial assaults.

Marcus Daly died in November, 1900. William A. Clark went to Washington, D. C., in early 1901. Only Heinze remained in Butte, a city long dominated by wealthy, powerful men. Heinze's wealth was limited to a smelter and several mines, but he exercised power through shrewd political associations and manipulation of public opinion. Heinze formed a circle of close advisers known as the "Liberty Hall" cabinet. Only one cabinet member was on Heinze's payroll. Heinze's organization included supporters in most Silver Bow county offices, the legislature and the lower courts. There were Heinze followers in every Butte precinct, in crafts, unions and ethnic groups. The organization was held together primarily by Heinze's forceful personality.<sup>8</sup>

The Reveille was an integral part of Heinze's organization. The paper promoted Heinze's fortunes--reflecting a national as well as regional tradition of personal journalism.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>K. Ross Toole, Montana: An Uncommon Land (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p. 166.

<sup>8</sup>Byron E. Cooney, "Heinze's Cabinet," Fallon County Times, January 2, 1928.

<sup>9</sup>John Tebbel, The Compact History of the American Newspaper (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1963), pp. 91-127.

Unlike the Butte Miner and Anaconda Standard, personal journals of Clark and Daly, the Reveille often devoted its space to Heinze's political and business activities, ignoring all other news. Curiously, the Reveille persistently denied any association with Heinze, professing in 1900 to be a political paper, "an ardent advocate for the greatest good and the best interests of the toiling masses as against the ruling classes."<sup>10</sup>

For the Reveille, the best interests of the toilers were often identical to the political interests of Heinze, an aspiring capitalist. The Reveille portrayed Standard Oil as a threat to Montana's autonomy. It blamed Standard Oil for Montana's ills and saw the hand of Rockefeller intruding in state affairs.

The Reveille viewed the opposition papers with disdain, castigating them as the "reptile press,"<sup>11</sup> the "muzzled press" and the "Standard Oil subsidized press." It warned its readers:

The Rockefellers are not spending \$500,000 a year operating and subsidizing a reptile press merely for amusement, nor for the purpose of returning Thomas Henry Carter to the United States Senate.

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<sup>10</sup>Reveille, September 11, 1900, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup>O'Farrell explained the term "reptile press" first came into use in France when Napoleon subsidized papers that supported his government and suppressed those that opposed him. O'Farrell maintained the daily papers in Montana were a "reptile press," subsidized by Standard Oil to promote a copper trust and drive Heinze from the state. See: Reveille, February 24, 1903, p. 2.

They have ulterior objects as plain as the sun  
at noonday.  
They aim at establishing an oligarchy in Montana.<sup>12</sup>

O'Farrell discredited accounts of the Heinze-Amalgamated struggle sent out of Montana by calling the Associated Press "the Standard Oil press bureau." He said the Associated Press stories from Montana, whether carried in Democratic, Republican or independent papers, were "branded by the Standard Oil press men. . . ."<sup>13</sup>

Ridicule often was used to discredit opposing papers. The technique was simple. The Reveille reprinted a portion of an article or editorial from an opposition paper. The statement, often taken out of context, was criticized, usually with sarcasm and personal abuse. For example, in an editorial entitled, "For the Protection of the Dear Public," the Reveille reprinted from the Butte Inter Mountain a statement by William Scallon, manager of Amalgamated operations in Montana. Scallon was quoted as saying some corporations had invested in newspapers in Montana for the protection of the public. The Reveille replied:

Just think of the Butte Inter Mountain 'protecting the public.' Think of the Anaconda Standard, the Butte Miner, the Labor World, the Helena Independent, the Great Falls Tribune, the Great Falls Leader, the Missoula Missoulian, and the number of smaller fry that, parasite-like, cling around the Standard Oil barrel in campaign times 'protecting the public!'

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<sup>12</sup>Reveille, September 4, 1902, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup>Reveille, February 13, 1903, p. 2.

Here are four republican newspapers, four democratic newspapers and one socialist newspaper, purchased at a cost of at least a million dollars and entailing an annual expense of not less than a million more, conducted by the Standard Oil Copper Trust and its ally, William A. Clark, as 'the safest means to protect the public!'<sup>14</sup>

The Reveille used the same technique to ridicule and defame individuals, particularly editors who opposed Heinze. O'Farrell portrayed the Reveille as an underdog competing with Amalgamated-controlled newspapers. He said only one daily newspaper in Montana--the Fort Benton River Press--was independent. O'Farrell also said most of the state's weekly newspapers were part of the muzzled press. He excepted the Bozeman Avant-Courier, the Lewistown Democrat, the Miles City Independent, the Dawson County Review, the Flathead Herald-Journal, the Ravalli Republican, the Northwest Tribune, the Deer Lodge Silver State and the Rosebud County News.<sup>15</sup>

The portrayal of the Reveille as a small voice trying to be heard above the voices of many larger papers was ideal for Heinze's purposes. O'Farrell justified the Reveille's role in idealistic terms: The journalist has a duty to defend those wrongly attacked by enemies of the public; therefore, the Reveille supported Heinze in his struggle with the corrupt forces of Standard Oil.<sup>16</sup> O'Farrell also defended the Reveille's position in moral terms. He described Standard

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<sup>14</sup>Reveille, September 11, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup>Reveille, October 2, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup>Reveille, January 23, 1903, p. 4.

Oil as evil, Heinze as good, and said the Reveille supported Heinze who surely would triumph in the end.<sup>17</sup>

O'Farrell occasionally criticized Montana's daily newspapers in tones of self-righteous indignation:

The freedom and purity of the press is the test of a nation's virtue and independence. The press is the public shield and any member of the press who permits buzzards to roost upon that public shield is false to his profession and to the duty he owes the community. In the light of language such as this, well might the people of Montana be appalled at the condition of the state press. Its daily press is entirely owned by the Standard Oil Trust and its allied interests.<sup>18</sup>

Heinze's rights--particularly his property rights--were of frequent concern to the Reveille. The paper viewed the extensive litigation and efforts to corrupt the judiciary and sway elections as Standard Oil schemes to drive Heinze out of business. In O'Farrell's view, Heinze was justified in protecting his business interests.<sup>19</sup>

O'Farrell's opposition to rising socialist sentiment in Montana in 1903 revealed a dichotomy between the Reveille's advocacy of the best interests of the toiling masses and its defense of Heinze's economic interests. The latter won the Reveille's support.

O'Farrell began his crusade against socialism in April, 1903. He asserted Standard Oil was encouraging the socialist movement to divide Butte's working class (which

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<sup>17</sup>Reveille, February 10, 1903, pp. 2-3.

<sup>18</sup>Reveille, July 31, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup>Reveille, June 5, 1903, p. 4.



usually supported Heinze's political candidates). O'Farrell said, however, he supported some socialist reforms, including direct legislation and municipal ownership of public utilities.<sup>20</sup>

Following the 1903 municipal elections, in which Socialists captured the city government in Anaconda and made a strong showing in Butte, O'Farrell again warned his readers Standard Oil was using the Socialist party to divide Montana's workingmen. He said Standard Oil hoped to elect friendly Democrats and Republicans by backing Socialist candidates who would have drawn support from the strong labor bloc controlled by Heinze. O'Farrell said Standard Oil had employed a divide-and-conquer strategy since socialism began in Montana in 1900.<sup>21</sup>

Another Reveille writer, Richard R. Kilroy, called the socialist victory in the Anaconda election "a remarkable political revolution." Kilroy said, however, the men who had broken Amalgamated's political hold on Anaconda were Republicans and Democrats who rejected the socialist philosophy but accepted the Socialist label. He said that after Daly's death the Labor party gained strength; to combat it, the company spread socialist propaganda to divide and weaken the workingmen. Kilroy said the workers thwarted the company's strategy by remaining under the Socialist banner and electing candidates pledged to lower property

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<sup>20</sup>Reveille, April 3, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Reveille, April 10, 1903, p. 2.

taxes for the individual and raise them for the company. The company could defeat the Socialist party, Kilroy concluded, only by taking it over or destroying it.<sup>22</sup>

O'Farrell considered socialism a threat to the nation, as well as Montana. He condemned "the socialism that would transform all citizens into one dead level of mediocrity. . . . the socialism of free love that would destroy the beauty and sanctity of family life." Unless trusts were curbed, O'Farrell warned, the nation would embrace socialism. He said only President Roosevelt could solve the trust problem and predicted Roosevelt, if nominated, would be reelected in 1904.<sup>23</sup>

In the same issue of the Reveille, O'Farrell began a campaign against the American Labor Union Journal and the American Labor World. He said both newspapers were spreading socialist propaganda with Standard Oil backing. Again, O'Farrell cautioned his readers Standard Oil was using socialism to divide and subjugate Butte's workingmen.<sup>24</sup>

A week later, O'Farrell replied to an accusation by the Butte Miner that the Reveille's endorsement of President Roosevelt was an attempt by Heinze to control the Republican party in Montana. O'Farrell said the Reveille

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<sup>22</sup>Reveille, April 17, 1903, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>23</sup>Reveille, May 1, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

belonged to no party; he said he was a Jeffersonian Democrat and supported Roosevelt over a Democrat like Grover Cleveland. O'Farrell said the Reveille was not Heinze's newspaper, but the people's newspaper, whose purpose

is to ward off from the people of Montana a Standard Oil monopoly that would reproduce in Montana conditions now existing in the coal regions of Pennsylvania.

It [the Reveille] has fought Mr. Heinze's battles because it knows that Mr. Heinze is the most fearless and greatest of all the champions of the people of Montana.<sup>25</sup>

The Miner continued to criticize the Reveille for supporting President Roosevelt. O'Farrell denied the Reveille was aligning itself with the Republican party, chastised the Miner for misrepresenting the Reveille's position and proclaimed trust monopolies the biggest issue in the nation. O'Farrell equated the trust problem with the slavery issue of 1860; he supported Mr. Roosevelt, he said, because the President was best suited to deal with the trust question.<sup>26</sup>

The American Labor Union Journal also criticized the Reveille. The Journal denied it was supported by Amalgamated, as the Reveille had charged, and attacked Heinze as a parasite on society. The Reveille responded with its familiar tactic: It reprinted a portion of the Journal's criticism and accused it of preaching "the most rampant communism and confiscation," rather than socialism. The

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<sup>25</sup>Reveille, May 8, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Reveille, May 15, 1903, p. 1.

Reveille defended Heinze as a friend of labor, shielding the workingmen from the Standard Oil onslaught.<sup>27</sup>

Through its criticism of socialism, the Reveille emerged as an apologist for the capitalistic system. The Reveille's attitude toward labor was ambivalent: It supported improved conditions for workers but felt the improvements should be initiated by men like Heinze, capitalists who held power and property by virtue of their superior abilities. The Reveille considered socialism a threat to church and family, as well as property interests.

The Reveille's concern for the plight of the toiler became more suspect when O'Farrell escalated his attack on the American Labor Union Journal and the American Labor World but exempted from his criticism the Montana Socialist Advocate--printed by the Reveille. O'Farrell asserted the staff of the Journal and World worked for Amalgamated and preach "communism and anarchy, . . . because William Scallon & Co., tell them to preach rabid socialism in order to divide the common people."<sup>28</sup>

Socialism in the interest of Amalgamated was anathema to O'Farrell, but socialism in the interest of the Reveille was a sound business proposition. According to O'Farrell:

There is no more conscientious or upright man in

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>28</sup>Reveille, May 29, 1903, p. 1.

all Montana than Mr. [Joseph] Murphy, and when he asked my consent to print and publish the Montana Socialist Advocate on a purely commercial basis, I told him that he could print the paper, provided it was run on lines that were not at war with Christianity.

I have never read a copy of the Montana Socialist Advocate, but I have implicit confidence in Mr. Murphy and I know that he will not be a party to propagating doctrines that are subversive of the religion of Christ and to the foundations of civilized life.<sup>29</sup>

It is unlikely O'Farrell would read the Journal and World, socialist papers he asserted were published by Amalgamated (a charge the Journal denied), and ignore the socialist paper published by the Reveille. O'Farrell's need for job printing business evidently was greater than his opposition to socialism--at least in the case of the Montana Socialist Advocate.

O'Farrell distinguished between "innocent socialism" (presumably the type espoused by the Montana Socialist Advocate) and "universal communism," which he said the American Labor Union Journal endorsed. In an editorial entitled, "Socialism and the Church," O'Farrell accused the Journal of advocating atheism as well as communism. The editorial appealed to the emotions of Butte's laboring class--largely Catholic--and to property owners. O'Farrell said the socialist scheme for common ownership of the means of production and distribution was communism: It meant confiscation of private property without compensation. He said any plan to change the social order by redistributing private property was robbery, and violated

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

the laws of Christian society. O'Farrell also said abolition of private property would destroy the nation's farms, remove the incentive to work and promote idleness. O'Farrell concluded:

Now does any sane man believe that the farmers of the United States will ever consent to surrender their farms to communistic dreamers? . . . To despoil him of that farm is robbery. And God's law, 'Thou shalt not steal,' is addressed as much to governments and to nations as it is to individuals.

Confiscation of this kind is robbery and robbery is an offense against the moral law prevailing in the Christian world, and when the Labor Union Journal preaches and pleads for confiscation it is running in direct antagonism to divine law.<sup>30</sup>

O'Farrell pressed his attack on socialism, creating a dilemma for his readers: He appealed to their desires for improved material comfort, and at the same time urged them to uphold traditional moral values. O'Farrell offered an escape from the dilemma by proposing social reform to end injustices without eliminating the social and economic system. For example, he suggested an end to monopolies that robbed the individual and threatened his liberties. Socialism became another vehicle for O'Farrell's attack on Standard Oil, and an opportunity to justify the existing economic and social system in moral and religious terms.

The opposition press took advantage of O'Farrell's crusade against socialism, branding the Reveille an enemy of labor unions. The Reveille denounced the criticism as lies by the reptile press and asserted the real enemies of

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

unions were those who urged labor to embrace communist doctrines. Those enemies, the Reveille continued, were the Standard Oil hirelings who run the World and Journal, spending Standard Oil money to propagate communism. The scheme, the Reveille concluded, "shows the methods of treachery and falsehood that the Standard Oil horde are ready to descend to in order to defeat the people and place the yoke of plutocracy around their necks."<sup>31</sup>

Despite criticism from the opposition press, the Reveille continued its attack on the World and Journal, labeling them anarchist as well as communist papers. O'Farrell appealed to religious belief in his attacks: He said those who advocate confiscation of property without compensation could not be Christians or Jews. The communistic socialism advocated by the anarchist newspapers, O'Farrell said, was "diametrically opposed to the teachings of the New and the Old Testament."<sup>32</sup>

In a front-page article in the Reveille June 19, 1903, O'Farrell for the first time acknowledged Heinze would be hurt by socialism. O'Farrell lauded the toil of pioneers who built a nation on agriculture, and he predicted collective ownership of land would kill progress and put a premium on mediocrity. He applied the same argument to industry, including mining. O'Farrell said Butte was developed by men who turned the discoveries of prospectors into mines that

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<sup>31</sup>Reveille, June 5, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup>Reveille, June 12, 1903, p. 1.

provide wealth and employment to the community. One of those men was F. A. Heinze, who had, O'Farrell said, developed a great industrial enterprise through hard work, courage and intelligence. O'Farrell said socialism would reward Heinze's efforts by confiscating his property.<sup>33</sup>

To counter the threat to Heinze's industrial interests, O'Farrell asserted socialism was: (1) A movement supported by Amalgamated to divide and weaken Heinze's labor support, (2) A philosophy inimical to Heinze's wealth and influence.

O'Farrell easily proved (to his satisfaction) the latter assertion. Appealing to the frontier spirit and belief in rugged individualism, he equated economic law with divine law, and argued both were immutable. The argument was plausible, given Butte's large immigrant population, strong Catholic influence and prevailing conservative philosophy. His first assertion, however, was more difficult to prove, particularly since one of the socialist papers had denied any connection with Amalgamated.

O'Farrell renewed his attack on the motives of the socialist movement: He sent a telegram to Dan McDonald, president of the American Labor Union, inquiring who was responsible for the American Labor Union Journal. O'Farrell also asked if McDonald approved of attacks on the Pope, the

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<sup>33</sup>Reveille, June 19, 1903, pp. 1, 5.



Catholic Church and Christianity. Following the questions, O'Farrell offered space in the Reveille for McDonald's reply. Without waiting for a reply, however, O'Farrell reiterated his criticism of socialism and accused McDonald of receiving a reduced rate to print the Journal at the Butte Inter Mountain.<sup>34</sup>

A week later O'Farrell reported he had not received a satisfactory answer to his telegram; again, he attacked McDonald for publishing a newspaper for Amalgamated, at a financial loss to the Inter Mountain. Without offering evidence to support his charge, O'Farrell accused Standard Oil of supporting McDonald's plan to lure Montana workingmen into the socialist camp. He said the Rockefellers hoped to eliminate Heinze's labor support in Montana, crush Heinze, make war on the labor unions and begin a crusade, supported by conservative forces in the country, against the workingmen in Montana.<sup>35</sup>

O'Farrell also attacked two prominent men associated with Amalgamated, William Scallon and Dan Hennessy. He accused them of serving and worshipping the "Standard Oil swindlers" who would plunder Montana's resources and make war against its people. O'Farrell's volatile accusations ended with a warning that "usurpations of monopoly, unless checked,

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>Reveille, June 26, 1903, p. 1.

may lead to the overthrow of the republic, but the usurpations of communistic socialism would as surely lead first to blood and anarchy and then to grinding despotism."<sup>36</sup>

Having established--at least by implication--Amalgamated's role in the socialist movement, O'Farrell warned his readers of Standard Oil efforts to drive Heinze from Montana. He forecast dire consequences should Standard Oil defeat Heinze and capture state and local government: Farmers and small property owners would bear the tax burden, wages would be cut, company stores would replace competing businesses and opponents of the trust would be driven from the state. That need not be Montana's fate, O'Farrell concluded, if the workingmen remain in Heinze's army and support the "great and glorious battle against the Standard Oil. . . ."<sup>37</sup>

The Reveille continued its campaign against socialism through the summer of 1903. O'Farrell repeatedly warned of Standard Oil schemes to use socialism to weaken Heinze's labor support, drive him from the state and replace democracy in Montana with plutocracy. He appealed to emotion, claiming socialism was repugnant to Christianity and a threat to self-reliance, initiative and ambition.

Not content with appeals to fear and emotion to derogate the socialist movement, the Reveille vilified its

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 1, 8.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

leader, describing Dan McDonald as "wild-eyed and pale, . . . His white face, sharp features and shaggy hair made him look the anarchist every inch."<sup>38</sup>

By the end of August, however, the Reveille proclaimed victory in its fight against socialism. It reported delegates to the Montana State Trades and Labor Assembly had rejected 48 to 47 a resolution to adopt socialism. The Reveille interpreted the vote as a repudiation of socialism by Montana's workingmen.<sup>39</sup>

In an article tracing the history of socialism's rise in Montana, the Reveille claimed socialism was introduced in the state because of a union power struggle. This was the Reveille's story:

Eugene Debs, seeking revenge against his rival, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, found an ally in Dan McDonald, a labor party leader in Montana. Debs approached McDonald in Denver at the convention of the Western Labor Union. Debs told McDonald he could gain broad support by opening his union to all labor groups and espousing socialism. He told McDonald many unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. were ready to revolt, and Gompers could not keep them from embracing socialism. McDonald convinced the delegates in Denver to change the Western

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<sup>38</sup>Reveille, August 28, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

Labor Union to the American Labor Union and adopt socialism. When the new union decided to publish a newspaper, Amalgamated saw an opportunity to use socialism to divide the labor vote, which had been consistently cast against Amalgamated candidates. Amalgamated started the American Labor World and offered to publish the American Labor Union Journal. The article concluded, "Since the Reveille put the kerosene brand on the socialist newspapers they have been traveling a pretty rocky road."<sup>40</sup>

A week later the Reveille reported William Scallon had ordered the World discontinued and had withdrawn support for the Journal. The story, in bold-face type in a box on page one, was without attribution. The Reveille treated the story, however, as vindication of its anti-socialist campaign; readers were reminded the Reveille exposed the Amalgamated scheme to promote the Standard Oil copper trust by supporting two socialist newspapers.<sup>41</sup>

The rise of socialism posed a problem for the Reveille: It had to champion the cause of the worker while defending Heinze's industrial interests. The Reveille resolved the conflict at the expense of the worker. The paper challenged the motives of those who supported socialism, rather than seriously examine the merits of the movement.

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>41</sup>Reveille, September 4, 1903, p. 1.

By relating the rise of socialism to the threat of Standard Oil domination of Montana, the Reveille could claim it was opposing socialism on behalf of the workingman.

O'Farrell's sophistry and appeals to emotion, rather than reason, suggest the Reveille misled and misinformed the "toiling masses" for whom it professed such concern. One historian observed the capitalist domination of political institutions in Montana provided impetus for the growth of socialism; the new movement offered wage earners an avenue to political power. Socialism gained a foothold in Butte--the state's largest industrial center--in 1900. In 1902 the Socialist party sponsored congressional candidates for the first time. In 1903 the Socialists swept the municipal elections in Anaconda, defeating candidates backed by Amalgamated.<sup>42</sup>

O'Farrell was a well-read man, certainly familiar with the grievances of labor and the iniquities of the capitalistic system; he did not misrepresent the socialist movement in Montana out of ignorance. The socialist movement threatened the political base through which Heinze maintained power--the workingmen. O'Farrell attacked socialism to prevent the workingmen from deserting Heinze's ranks.

Viewed in broader perspective, it is evident O'Farrell was caught in the conflict between rising progressive

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<sup>42</sup>Helen F. Sanders, A History of Montana, I (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1913), pp. 427-30.

sentiment for change and the conservative impulse to maintain the status quo. One writer has portrayed America as a nation in transition at the beginning of the 20th Century. New ideas in economics, social science, religion and literature challenged old concepts. The individual, according to the new ideas, was basically good, shaped primarily by his environment and controlled his own destiny. There was faith in education as the means of enlightening man and optimism about the future. From these ideas grew the progressive movement.<sup>43</sup>

Opposing the progressive view of society was the conservative tradition, which viewed man as weak and inherently evil and which relied on traditional institutions to preserve order, distrusted the common man, believed experience was more important than education and assumed natural law applied to the business world.<sup>44</sup>

O'Farrell professed concern for the laborer--the common man. His support of Roosevelt, identification with Jeffersonian democracy and endorsement of social reform indicate he accepted some tenets of progressive philosophy. But O'Farrell also applied the natural-law argument to his defense of Heinze's business enterprise and he expressed a conservative's distrust of human nature. O'Farrell followed

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<sup>43</sup>George E. Mowry, The Era of Theodore Roosevelt (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), pp. 37-53.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

a middle course: He supported social and economic reforms so long as they did not threaten acquired wealth or attack Christianity.

O'Farrell's campaign against socialism strained the Reveille's credibility as a friend of labor. Other attacks on Standard Oil were easier to justify. The Reveille pictured Amalgamated as an arm of Standard Oil. Amalgamated was accused of running company stores, controlling political parties, evading taxation and suppressing the freedom of its employees. O'Farrell carefully avoided antagonizing the laborers who depended on Amalgamated for their jobs, but he caricatured the managers of Amalgamated as traitors and reprobates. His favorite targets were Dan Hennessy and William Scallon. O'Farrell rejected pleas to soften his criticism, reminding Butte's Irish and Catholic groups

I am importuned by dear friends not to lampoon or scourge Hennessy or Scallon because they are decent, respectable men and members of my own race and creed.

Scallon and Hennessy are hired by Rogers and Rockefeller for that very reason. They are hired to gull, to fool and to betray the Irish toilers on the hill into supporting Standard Oil schemes of villainy.

They have foresworn the principles of their own race to aid in the success and triumph of the Standard Oil octopus, and under these circumstances I have no feeling towards Scallon and Hennessy but unutterable contempt mingled with more than melancholy and pity.<sup>45</sup>

The Reveille characterized Hennessy as the manager of Amalgamated's company stores. Amalgamated was accused of coercing laborers to trade at company stores by extending

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<sup>45</sup>Reveille, February 27, 1903, p. 2.

credit, but selling inferior merchandise at inflated prices. When Amalgamated announced it was selling its mercantile interests to Dan Hennessy, the Reveille branded the deal a "bogus transfer." The Reveille asserted the company stores were worth \$1.5 million, but Hennessy was worth only \$50,000. The reason for the transfer, according to the Reveille, was obvious: Amalgamated was trying to convince voters it was out of the company store business; however, after the 1904 elections Amalgamated would drop the facade and revert to the infamous company store operation.<sup>46</sup>

The Reveille also accused Amalgamated of running company towns. Butte and Anaconda were frequently referred to by the Reveille as company towns, and the paper warned of Amalgamated influence in Helena, Great Falls, Sand Coulee, Belt, Hamilton, Bonner and Missoula.<sup>47</sup>

Amalgamated's extensive mining and timber operations, its control over most of the daily newspapers and its deep involvement in Montana's political affairs added credence to the Reveille's attacks on company stores and company towns. According to one writer, however, only Anaconda could be considered a company town. Anaconda was founded by Daly, developed in an orderly manner and received company backing and interest. Butte, though its economy was dominated by

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<sup>46</sup>Reveille, February 12, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>47</sup>Reveille, June 26, 1903, p. 1.



Amalgamated, was not owned by the company; Amalgamated took little interest in planning or directing Butte's growth.<sup>48</sup> Butte may not have been a company town in the strict sense, but it was dominated by Amalgamated--a fact the Reveille did not let its readers forget.

The Reveille exploited Amalgamated efforts to control the political activities of its employees. When the Washoe smelter in Anaconda introduced personnel forms, requiring job applicants to provide personal and biographical data, the Reveille dubbed the form a "pedigree slip." The paper claimed the "pedigree slip" was a new method to eliminate workers who did not follow the company line. The Washoe smelter also issued employees a brass tag that qualified them for work. At the beginning of a shift, the employee gave the brass tag to a timekeeper in exchange for a red card, punched by a time clock. At the end of the shift, the employee gave the red card to the timekeeper who again punched it in a time clock and returned the brass tag to the worker. The Reveille claimed many workers received blue tickets instead of their brass tags at the end of the shift. Men who received blue tickets often were fired and blacklisted. The Reveille compared the "pedigree slip" and brass tag to systems used by Standard Oil in the Pennsylvania oil regions to eliminate workers who tried to maintain political inde-

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<sup>48</sup> James B. Allen, The Company Town in the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), pp. 35-37.

pendence.<sup>49</sup>

One writer said Amalgamated created resentment among its employees by maintaining a system of corporate espionage; workers who did not support the company's political dictates were persecuted. In some cases, miners were fired for participating in activities sponsored by Heinze.<sup>50</sup>

The Reveille seized examples of corporate espionage to kindle hatred and fear of Amalgamated, and pointed out parallels between Amalgamated and Standard Oil methods to suppress the individual. O'Farrell dwelled on the theme of Standard Oil villainy. He repeatedly warned of a scheme to extend the Standard Oil monopoly to Montana:

Heinze's fight is incidental to the still greater fight of the people of Montana to save their liberties from usurpation by a gigantic monopoly. Did that monopoly succeed in crushing Heinze and driving him out of the state of Montana, every other man who owned a mine, a mill, a smelter or a prospect would, in turn, be robbed of his property and driven from the state. Every independent business man would be treated the same way in his turn. The company store would be supreme and empty stores would line the streets of every company town in the state.

It is not a theory but a condition of slavery that the people of Montana are face to face with, unless they unmask the traitors and crush the monstrous monopoly planned for Montana by the Standard Oil kings.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Reveille, August 7, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>William Sterling Youngman, Jr., "The Anaconda Copper Mining Company and some Phases of its Influence in the Politics of the State of Montana, 1880-1929" (unpublished History Distinction Thesis, Harvard University, 1929), p. 47.

<sup>51</sup>Reveille, August 21, 1903, p. 2.

Even a minor incident could become the basis for a Reveille attack on Standard Oil villainy. In one instance, the Reveille accused "the Standard Oil gang" of assaulting O'Farrell and Kilroy. According to the Reveille, O'Farrell and Kilroy were walking by Sutton's opera house, engrossed in conversation, when O'Farrell was grabbed from behind. He recognized his assailants as William Scallon's "trainer and bodyguard" and four other "Amalgamated thugs." Although he carried a cane, O'Farrell did not strike his attackers because he realized they were trying to provoke him. He tried to protect himself as the "thugs" held him and the "prizefighter" hit and kicked him. An onlooker pulled the assailant away. The Reveille denied the Butte Miner's version of the encounter: That O'Farrell carried a loaded cane and struck the "prizefighter" first.<sup>52</sup>

The Reveille ignored the obvious theatrical, comic aspects of the encounter and solemnly warned its readers the attack could mean a new campaign to maim or even murder Heinze's supporters. The paper said the "Standard Oil gang" had tried unsuccessfully for five years to beat Heinze. It said the trust was especially enraged by the Reveille because the paper had stood by Heinze and exposed Standard Oil's evil schemes.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Reveille, July 28, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

The Reveille rejected the idea Heinze's fight with Amalgamated was a feud between two corporations. The paper maintained Montana's independence was threatened by a corporate monopoly; it said Heinze was battling the monopoly on behalf of Montana. O'Farrell tried to convince the Reveille's readers Amalgamated was a tentacle of the feared Standard Oil octopus. Amalgamated blundered during the 1900 campaign by not granting its employees an eight-hour work day. The Reveille capitalized on that mistake, frequently reminding the miners that Heinze had granted them a shorter work day; Amalgamated's opposition to the eight-hour day in 1900 was used as an example of corporate ruthlessness and disregard for the individual.<sup>54</sup>

By 1900, Standard Oil personified trusts. Many believed Standard Oil and other trusts used illegal practices to threaten small businesses, labor groups and consumers.<sup>55</sup> O'Farrell played on public suspicion of trusts and fear of Standard Oil to create opposition to Amalgamated.

The Reveille's denunciation of Amalgamated and Standard Oil exploited another prejudice: Distrust of eastern capitalists. The rapid increase in industrial consolidation led to concentration of wealth and power by a few eastern capitalists. The owners did not live near their enterprises,

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<sup>54</sup>Youngman, "The Anaconda Copper Mining Company," p. 46.

<sup>55</sup>Mowry, The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, p. 83.

run by hired managers, and they rarely visited or showed concern for the local towns.<sup>56</sup>

Heinze lived in Butte and knew its leading citizens and common people. William Rockefeller and Henry Rogers lived in New York and were known in Montana primarily through the Reveille. O'Farrell made certain Rockefeller and Rogers were portrayed as heartless, cruel ogres, living in opulence while plotting to plunder Montana and subjugate its people.

The Reveille's campaign against Standard Oil and its efforts to depict Amalgamated as a copper trust created by Standard Oil echoed Heinze's attack on the trusts in 1900. Presenting himself as an independent businessman facing a giant trust, Heinze told an audience in Missoula:

Probably you will be surprised if I tell you that I have been in great drawing rooms in New York City-- the financial center of this great United States-- and that there, amongst a large crowd of people, I have been pointed out and looked upon with amazement, and people have said to me, 'There is the man who is fighting the Standard Oil Company.' Now, I do not say that, my friends, in any spirit of self-aggrandizement, because my fight with the Standard Oil Company is simply a business proposition, but I do say it for this purpose: to give you to understand that even in the great city of New York, where hundreds and thousands of millions of wealth are congregated together, the Standard Oil Company is feared with a fear that is deep rooted and deep seated in the hearts of men.<sup>57</sup>

It was fear of trusts, suspicion of big corporations,

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>57</sup>Heinze, Political Situation, p. 29.

resentment of great wealth, distrust of eastern capitalists and hatred of Standard Oil that the Reveille exploited to promote and protect Heinze's industrial holdings in Montana. O'Farrell reduced the issue to a single proposition: You must support Heinze in his fight against Standard Oil—or perish. Heinze considered Standard Oil his enemy; the Reveille considered Standard Oil the enemy of the people.

### CHAPTER III

#### "ONCE MORE H. H. ROGERS RESORTS TO THE MAILED FIST IN MONTANA"

Butte, clinging to the Continental Divide, thrusts more than a mile into the crisp air of the Rockies, among peaks that reach even higher. Butte's streets and buildings follow the contour of hillsides and stretch to the flat land of a basin. A writer who visited Butte in 1903 said the mining activity that dominated the city

gives one the impression of tremendous disorder, of colossal energies in play. Here are huge heaps of rocky waste from the mines, with roads and railroads skirting their sides and dust blowing over them, interminable trains of ore-laden skips plying back and forth, and bare, unpainted shack houses set up as if for the night, where it seems the refuse from the dump cars has hardly ceased rolling. Here are wide areas of glistening, bright-colored mud from the washeries; here are frowning slag-dumps, streaked red at evening with the blazing offscourings of the smelters; here are the mines with their huge red buildings, their stacks, their trestles, their gallow frames; and the town crowding in on every hand, the town seeking to reach out over the dumps, the dumps cutting the town into estuary-like gulches.<sup>1</sup>

The furious energy applied to Butte's hills produced \$55 million a year and made Butte the greatest copper camp in the world. In 1903 Butte was producing one-fourth of the world's copper supply and two-fifths

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<sup>1</sup>Ray Stannard Baker, "Butte City—Greatest of Copper Camps," The Century Magazine, April, 1903, p. 875.

of the United States' copper needs. Much of that wealth went to Butte residents—monthly wages totaled \$2 million for a population of 50,000. Unions were strong, employment was high, business was good. Almost everyone shared in Butte's prosperity.<sup>2</sup>

On October 22, 1903, Butte's industrial activity and prosperity were halted: The Amalgamated Copper Company (the largest operator in Butte) announced it was suspending all its Montana operations. There was one exception: The company's newspapers. The Anaconda Standard explained the shutdown resulted from Judge William Clancy's decision "in effect declaring the Amalgamated company an outlaw. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

Judge Clancy had handed down two rulings October 22. One gave F. Augustus Heinze the rich Minnie Healy mine. The other enjoined payment of dividends earned by the Parrot and Boston & Montana firms to Amalgamated and declared Amalgamated a trust with no legal standing in Montana.<sup>4</sup>

The rulings were a triumph for Heinze; he had scored a major victory in his struggle with Amalgamated. The shutdown of all company properties in Montana, however, was Amalgamated's first action in turning Heinze's victory into ultimate defeat.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 875-77.

<sup>3</sup>Anaconda Standard, October 23, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Robert G. Raymer, Montana: The Land and the People, I (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1930), p. 491.



The cases on which Judge Clancy ruled had been in the courts for several years. Heinze's skillful legal maneuvers were a key element in his fight with Amalgamated. In July, 1901, two of his associates, John MacGinniss and Daniel Lamm, had filed suit in district court in Butte to prevent the Boston & Montana Company from merging with Amalgamated. The two minority stockholders also asked the court to appoint a receiver for all Boston company properties and to declare Amalgamated a trust and monopoly in violation of Montana's laws.<sup>5</sup>

The case involving the Minnie Healy, to which Heinze claimed title, had been filed in Judge John Lindsay's court; however, before the case came to trial, Heinze had caused Lindsay's defeat in the 1900 election and had replaced him with Edward Harney. On June 18, 1901, Judge Harney ruled Heinze's verbal agreement with Miles Finlen entitled him to continue working the Healy. Finlen appealed the decision to the Supreme Court, which enjoined Heinze from working the mine.<sup>6</sup>

Amalgamated disliked the justice administered by the judge Heinze had put on the bench. The company discovered Judge Harney had been romantically involved with his secretary, Mrs. Ada H. Brackett. During the Healy trial, Mrs. Brackett exchanged correspondence with the judge. She urged him to rule in Heinze's favor in the Healy case. The corre-

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 490-91.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 488.

spondence—later known as the "dearie letters"—was intercepted by Amalgamated agents who opened each envelope and copied its message without the knowledge of Mrs. Brackett or Judge Harney.<sup>7</sup>

After Judge Harney ruled in Heinze's favor in the Minnie Healy case, Amalgamated's chief attorney in Montana, Arthur J. Shores, filed a motion for a new trial. Shores told Harney Amalgamated would be forced to file affidavits damaging to the judge's integrity unless a new trial were granted. Judge Harney denied the motion for a new trial and Amalgamated filed the affidavits in district court. The affidavits—primarily from Amalgamated attorneys—forewarned the judge Amalgamated meant business.<sup>8</sup>

Judge Harney had blocked Amalgamated efforts to obtain a new trial in the Healy case; the company acted to get rid of the judge. On the night of August 5, 1901, Judge Harney was subjected to intense pressure—including threat of impeachment and a \$250,000 bribe—to sign an affidavit that Heinze had bribed him in the Healy case. The encounter took place in the Thornton Hotel in Butte and lasted until dawn. Shores, D'Gay Stivers (another Amalgamated attorney) and Charles Clark (Senator Clark's son), threatened, cajoled and pleaded with the judge to sign the affidavit and resign.

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<sup>7</sup>Christopher P. Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote (New York: Covici, Friede, Inc., 1938), pp. 244-48.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 249-51.

Harney refused. He said he had received nothing from Heinze and would not confess to a crime he had not committed.<sup>9</sup>

The judge's tormentors changed tactics. Stivers was sent to get Mrs. Brackett, who was offered \$25,000 to persuade Harney to sign the affidavit. Clark told the judge Amalgamated was really after Heinze; Harney was simply an impediment in the company's scheme. When Stivers returned to the hotel with Mrs. Brackett, Clark was called out of Harney's room. Mrs. Brackett was sent into the judge's room, and the two were left alone for half an hour. When they emerged it was clear the judge had withstood the temptation of a quarter-million-dollar bribe, despite feminine persuasion and corporate intimidation.<sup>10</sup>

Amalgamated followed through with its threat: The company filed additional affidavits against Harney. The judge countered with disbarment proceedings against Shores and Stivers. An impeachment effort backed by Amalgamated failed in the legislature. The county attorney charged Charles Clark with attempting to bribe Judge Harney. Clark left the state. The controversy prompted the Supreme Court to set aside Judge Harney's decision and remand the Minnie Healy case to the lower court in Butte for a new trial. The case went to Judge William Clancy.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 252-60.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 260-61.

Judge Clancy's decisions October 22, giving Heinze the Minnie Healy, blocking payment of dividends by Amalgamated sub-companies and declaring Amalgamated an illegal trust, enraged the Anaconda Standard. The paper blamed Judge Clancy's decisions for the shutdown and accused Heinze of using the courts to harass his competitors. Referring to the legal action by MacGinniss and Lamm, the Standard said:

To the layman, therefore, the whole business would appear to be simply a proceeding in line with other annoying and harrassing [sic] litigation to which various companies of the Amalgamated company have been subjected in the wrecking efforts that have been going on in the Butte courts for some years.<sup>12</sup>

In the same article, the Standard condemned Judge Clancy's decision in the Minnie Healy case:

It involves nothing more and nothing less than a question of law as to whether a man's property can be taken from him without the scratch of a pen to support the claims of right on the part of the person who seeks to get it.<sup>13</sup>

The Reveille denied Judge Clancy's decisions were responsible for the Amalgamated shutdown. The paper named the culprit in this headline:<sup>14</sup>

ONCE MORE H. H. ROGERS RESORTS  
TO THE MAILED FIST IN MONTANA

The Reveille declared the shutdown had been planned in New York as part of a scheme to intimidate the courts and

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<sup>12</sup> Anaconda Standard, October 23, 1903, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Reveille, October 23, 1903, p. 1.

voters of Montana, and influence the stock market to the advantage of insiders. The paper quoted Heinze as saying Rogers had anticipated an adverse court ruling, and had ordered the shutdown to drive down the price of Amalgamated stock.<sup>15</sup>

The Reveille also accused the muzzled press of distorting the issues in Judge Clancy's decision in the Boston & Montana case. According to the Reveille, John MacGinniss and other minority stockholders protested the acquisition of the Boston company by Amalgamated because the Boston firm's stock was depreciated in the deal. Of greater importance, the Reveille continued, was MacGinniss' fight to keep Standard Oil from creating a copper monopoly in Montana. If Amalgamated considered Judge Clancy's decision unjust, the Reveille concluded, it should appeal that decision to the Supreme Court.<sup>16</sup>

The Reveille considered Judge Clancy's ruling in the Minnie Healy case a vindication of Heinze's position in his struggle with Amalgamated. In the Reveille's view, Amalgamated was trying to steal the mine from Heinze:

The history of the case is now well-known to almost every citizen of Montana. It has been a matter of current belief, even among the men who work in the Amalgamated mines, that from the day Miles Finlen filed his suit for the Amalgamated Copper company against F. A. Heinze it was purely a case of levying blackmail.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

Finlen got tired trying to find ore in the Minnie Healy claim. He turned the mine over to Heinze on a contract. When Heinze developed immense ore bodies in the mine and demonstrated that it was worth more than Finlen had agreed to dispose of it for, he entered into a conspiracy with the men who now constitute the Amalgamated Copper company to violate his contract and steal the mine from Heinze.<sup>17</sup>

The Butte Miner blamed Heinze for the shutdown. The Miner said Amalgamated was justified in closing down its operations in Montana:

Despite the widespread expressions of regret that so many of Montana's industrial enterprises have been closed down for what may prove to be an indefinite period of time, very little blame is attached to the Amalgamated for the course it has seen fit to pursue.<sup>18</sup>

The Miner said Amalgamated had no other avenue of legal redress, "in which case they are entitled to the only protection left open to them—the closing down of their works."<sup>19</sup> In the same issue, however, the Miner criticized Judge Clancy's plans to go hunting rather than remain in Butte and help Amalgamated attorneys prepare an appeal to the Supreme Court.<sup>20</sup>

The Standard and Miner led the attack against Heinze when the shutdown was announced. Both papers blamed Heinze's legal maneuvers and Judge Clancy's decisions for the shutdown. They implied Amalgamated had no

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>Butte Miner, October 24, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

recourse but to halt its industrial operations, though the company was entitled to appeal Judge Clancy's decisions to the Supreme Court.

The Butte Inter Mountain, in contrast to the Miner and Standard, initially provided restrained, balanced coverage of Judge Clancy's decisions and the shutdown. After a few days, though, the Inter Mountain fell into line with other company papers. The Reveille's criticism of H. H. Rogers had angered William Scallon, Amalgamated manager in Montana. The Inter Mountain responded with a broadside at the Reveille and Heinze:

For more than three years, week after week, Mr. Heinze has caused to be published against Mr. Rogers the wickedest and foulest slanders. Anyone who has happened to read the Reveille, or who is acquainted with its character, knows what the conduct of Mr. Heinze has been in that particular. It has been proved in court that Mr. Heinze paid the expenses of the publication of the Reveille. For some occasional reference in the Reveille he might deny responsibility; but for a continuous and persistent course of slander and dirt-throwing, kept up week after week by his boon companion and editors, paid with his money, he cannot escape responsibility.<sup>21</sup>

The Standard, too, had been stung by the Reveille's criticism—in this case criticism of the muzzled press. The Standard said there was no truth to Heinze's charge that it had suppressed part of the news of the shutdown or refused to give Heinze's side of the dispute. The Standard said Heinze had not offered a statement to its office, so there could be no question of suppression. (The Standard did not mention a newspaper's obligation to seek out opposing views

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<sup>21</sup>Butte Inter Mountain, October 27, 1903, p. 1.

in a controversial issue.) On the same page, the Standard printed a letter from John J. McHatton, attorney for John MacGinniss, detailing MacGinniss' side of the story. The headline above McHatton's letter read:<sup>22</sup>

JUDGE M'HATTON'S WAY OF PUTTING IT

Below the McHatton letter the Standard printed a letter from Arthur J. Shores and Cornelius F. Kelley, attorneys for Amalgamated. The headline above that letter read:<sup>23</sup>

IN ANSWER TO MR. M'HATTON'S VERSION

While the Reveille and the company papers traded insults and blamed each other for the shutdown, the prospect of a harsh winter began to loom in the minds of Montana's citizens. In Butte, Anaconda, Great Falls, Bonner and other towns where company enterprises had been idled, residents began to worry about the sudden lack of jobs and income. The extent of Amalgamated's industrial control in Montana was driven home: An estimated four-fifths of the state's wage earners were without work.<sup>24</sup>

The first night of the shutdown, 3,000 persons in Butte expressed their frustration and anxiety in a street demonstration. One man got into a hack and started a torch blazing; others discussed the shutdown in angry voices and

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<sup>22</sup>Anaconda Standard, October 26, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Carl B. Glasscock, The War of the Copper Kings (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1935), p. 277.



denounced Judge Clancy. Police moved in and dispersed the crowd.<sup>25</sup>

More positive efforts were under way, though, to solve the impasse. Two days after the shutdown the Butte Miner announced the miner's union was willing to buy MacGinniss' stock. Senator William A. Clark and John D. Ryan, president of the Daly Bank and Trust Company, had agreed to finance the union's purchase. The union decided to offer MacGinniss and the other minority stockholders ten times the value of their stock. The union also adopted a resolution urging Governor Toole to call a special session of the legislature to pass a "fair trial" bill. (Amalgamated had sought unsuccessfully a bill permitting a change of venue; the company wanted to transfer its mining litigation from the Heinze-controlled Butte courts to less hostile judges. The 1901 legislature had passed a change-of-venue bill, but Governor Toole had vetoed it.) MacGinniss thwarted the union plan to buy his stock, however, by leaving town. The president of the miner's union explained: "'We could not find Mr. MacGinniss, and it is our opinion that he was trying to dodge us,' said Mr. [Ed] Long. 'In fact, we learned positively that was the case. . . .'"<sup>26</sup>

The Miner endorsed the union plan to buy out the minority stockholders. The paper warned in an editorial

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<sup>25</sup>Butte Miner, October 24, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Butte Miner, October 25, 1903, p. 1.

if Heinze's associates refused the union offer

the Montana public will place the responsibility just where it belongs.

The rejection of this proposition by the Heinze men—under the circumstances that exist in this community, and with all that a long continued shutdown may imply both to the city and the state—will be construed as an effort on their part to break down and destroy a great industrial enterprise, rather than to protect their own holdings.<sup>27</sup>

The Miner editorial did not point out the effort of a great industrial enterprise to break down and destroy the right of a sovereign state to exist without intimidation and economic reprisal against its citizens. The Amalgamated press ignored the coercive effect of the shutdown and blamed Heinze for the industrial crisis.

The state's business community also felt the impact of the shutdown. Businessmen acted to prime the Amalgamated enterprises that had pumped millions of dollars into the local economy. The Great Falls Business Men's Association sent a telegram to Montana's two senators, William A. Clark and Paris Gibson, and to Governor Joseph Toole, Representative Joseph Dixon and James J. Hill, president of the Great Northern Railroad. The business group asked them to mediate the dispute between Heinze and Amalgamated and persuade Amalgamated to resume its operations in Montana.<sup>28</sup>

Heinze was on the spot. The company press was blaming him for the shutdown, despite denials by the Reveille.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

Many of Montana's workingmen were jobless. The mood in Butte was changing from frustration to anger. When a delegation from the miner's union approached Heinze about buying out the minority stockholders, he saw a chance to take his case to the public. He told the union officials he would reply to their offer at a public meeting the next afternoon at the county courthouse in Butte.<sup>29</sup>

An estimated 10,000 persons had gathered at the courthouse by 4 p.m. Monday when Heinze arrived to tell his story to Butte. The throng spread over the courthouse grounds and spilled into the street. Heinze ignored requests from Ed Long, president of the miner's union, to discuss the stock purchase offer. Instead, he stepped to the courthouse balcony and began an attack on Amalgamated newspapers for suppressing the truth about the industrial controversy. The crowd was skeptical but restrained. Heinze flattered his audience by describing Butte's miners and laborers as fair-minded, intelligent citizens. Long interrupted again, saying he wanted an answer to his offer, not a political speech. Heinze replied curtly he intended to continue his speech, and Long and several union officials angrily left the balcony.<sup>30</sup>

Addressing the crowd again, Heinze began a lengthy recitation of his struggle against Amalgamated. He depicted

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<sup>29</sup>Connolly, The Devil Learns to Vote, pp. 287-88.

<sup>30</sup>Reveille, October 28, 1903, p. 1. [This was the first four-page extra edition published by the Reveille during the shutdown.]

himself as a victim of Amalgamated persecution. After setting the scene of a wronged man who had taken his righteous cause to the people, Heinze accused Amalgamated of closing its operations to intimidate Montana's citizens and its lawmakers, judges and governor. Heinze's listeners began to nod in agreement and call out words of encouragement.<sup>31</sup>

Changing his emphasis, Heinze appealed to the miners' self-interest. He raised the specter of Standard Oil domination, warning his audience Standard Oil spies and detectives had tried to force union members to support Amalgamated policies. He said he found no evidence Amalgamated would put men back to work even if MacGinniss sold his stock to the union. Heinze explained why MacGinniss retained the stock:

'Now, my friends, the Amalgamated Copper company in its influence and functions and the control it has over commercial and economical affairs in this state is one of the greatest menaces, in fact the greatest that any community of the age of development of ours could possibly have within its boundaries. And that stock of Mr. MacGinniss' is a bulwark to protect you and others here in Butte, the miners and merchants of this city and of this state, from east to west and north to south, from the aggressions of that most unscrupulous of corporations, the Standard Oil company.'<sup>32</sup>

At that point the crowd began to cheer: Heinze again was champion of the workingmen, fighting the Standard Oil trust in their behalf. Heinze reminded the miners he had backed the eight-hour law, fought against company stores

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

and had blocked formation of a copper trust in Butte. He repeated his familiar theme: He and the miners in the audience were partners in the fight to save Montana from the Standard Oil pirates; if he were crushed today, the workers would be crushed tomorrow.<sup>33</sup>

The crowd was Heinze's. He was their leader in a noble crusade against a common foe: Standard Oil. Heinze concluded his talk with an offer to sell the minority shares held by MacGinniss and Lamm, provided Amalgamated agreed to several stipulations. Among them: That the portion of the Nipper mine owned by Anaconda be sold to him for the sum Anaconda had paid for it, plus 8 per cent interest; that disputes over veins and ore bodies in the Nipper be settled and Heinze permitted to operate the Nipper property; that Amalgamated agree to maintain the current wage scale at least three years; and that a committee be formed to arbitrate the dispute between Heinze and Amalgamated.<sup>34</sup>

Heinze had bypassed the opposition press; he had taken his case to the people in Butte. Heinze had reiterated the history of his fight with Amalgamated, his antipathy to a Standard Oil copper trust, his support for the laborer; he had appealed to his audience to stand with him in their fight against the common enemy.

The following day the company papers resumed the

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

offensive. The Standard labeled Heinze's offer preposterous—and accused him of avoiding the issue:

The substance of the charges rung on the Heinze-Amalgamated drama in Butte yesterday was that Mr. Heinze attempted to play the part of a hero, but his pretense was torn away and he appeared in the garb and role of a mountebank. He pretended to meet the issue, but dodged it awkwardly.<sup>35</sup>

The Miner devoted most of its front page to an account of Heinze's speech and a statement from William Scallion replying to Heinze's offer. Scallion said "'the conditions of Mr. Heinze's offers are so unreasonable and exorbitant that they are impossible of acceptance. . . .'"<sup>36</sup>

The Reveille tried to counter criticism of Heinze by the Standard and Miner. It accused the Amalgamated papers of attempting to incite the public to riot, create ill feeling against Heinze and spread confusion about responsibility for the shutdown. The Reveille asserted it was the only paper that gave a complete account of Heinze's speech, and complained about the difficulty of competing with the Amalgamated press:

With its two-by-four equipment, one linotype machine and limited conveniences for publishing a newspaper, The Reveille cannot, in this brief issue, answer every lying statement and misrepresentation of the combined newspapers of the muzzled press syndicate, with its battery of Mergenthaler machines and its army of editors and reporters.

It submits the conditions and terms of the proposed settlement in full as they were offered, with

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<sup>35</sup>Anaconda Standard, October 27, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup>Butte Miner, October 27, 1903, p. 1.

the stenographer's notes on the proceedings.

Fifty thousand people in Montana want to know the facts about yesterday's meeting and the proceedings. They don't accept the reports as published by the Standard and Inter Mountain.<sup>37</sup>

Even with extra editions, the Reveille found it difficult to compete with the company's daily papers, which leveled charges against Heinze faster than the Reveille could refute them. From its vantage point in New York, the authoritative trade weekly, The Engineering and Mining Journal, called the Amalgamated shutdown the mining sensation of the week. The Journal made it clear, however, it did not accept the rhetoric of either side in the dispute. The Journal offered an analysis not available in the Montana press:

The general policy of the Amalgamated Company, the attempts of certain persons to control the copper output of this country, the break in copper prices and the Amalgamated stock are a matter of record. The tactics of the Amalgamated Company have not been those of a company organized purely for the mining and reduction of copper ores. It has been a blind pool of the blindest sort, and there is no apparent reason why some of the harsh things said of it now should not be true. On the other hand, Mr. Heinze, while displaying his customary adroitness, makes an offer which he undoubtedly knows the Amalgamated Company will not accept. In effect, both sides are bluffing. Behind the charges made by each remains the sinister facts that copper prices all over the world are affected, that thousands of men are out of employment, and the litigation is as far from being settled as ever.<sup>38</sup>

Thomas Lawson, a Boston promoter and Amalgamated adviser, offered another eastern view of the industrial crisis

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<sup>37</sup>Reveille, October 28, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup>"The Butte Shutdown," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXVI (October 31, 1903), p. 648.

in Montana. Lawson sent a series of telegrams to the Butte Miner's Union, accusing Heinze of repeatedly attempting to sell his Butte properties. The Reveille printed the telegrams, which also were printed by Amalgamated papers. In the telegrams Lawson portrayed Heinze as a highway robber masquerading as a champion of the miners, while trying to extract an exorbitant price from Amalgamated for his holdings. Heinze denied Lawson's allegations and promised to retain his Butte interests and continue his fight against Amalgamated, so long as the people stood by him. The Reveille, treating the telegrams as a humorous sidelight to the industrial controversy, ridiculed Lawson as a "mountebank," a "bucolic" and a "Standard Oil authority."<sup>39</sup>

The Reveille's motives for printing the telegrams were not restricted to berating Lawson. The paper suggested Heinze's fight against Amalgamated was contingent upon support from Butte's laboring class. The Reveille used the telegrams to remind the miners Heinze could sell out and leave them without a champion unless they rallied to Heinze's side and resisted Amalgamated intimidation.

A week after the shutdown, Amalgamated showed no inclination to resume operations, and a sense of desperation began to grip thousands of families. The company press continued its attacks on Heinze. The mediation committee met for two days with representatives of Amalgamated and Heinze's

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<sup>39</sup>Reveille, October 30, 1903, pp. 1, 8.



United Copper Company without success. The Miner expressed sharp disappointment at the failure of the mediation efforts. Unless the Supreme Court reversed Judge Clancy's decisions or the governor called a special legislative session, the Miner warned, the shutdown would continue indefinitely.<sup>40</sup>

The Reveille maintained the next move was up to Scallon. It said he had refused to consider Heinze's offer to sell the minority stock for a fair price and submit the dispute to an arbitration committee. The Reveille repeated its charge that the shutdown was an effort by Amalgamated to drive Heinze from Montana and subjugate the state. It appealed to its readers to support Heinze in his struggle against the Standard Oil trust. The Reveille said the "free press" supported Heinze; it devoted a full page to excerpts from papers across the nation, pointing to their comments as an endorsement of Heinze's position in his dispute with Amalgamated.<sup>41</sup>

On November 3 Scallon spelled out the conditions for resumption of Amalgamated operations. The mines would reopen and work would resume, Scallon said in a letter to the Butte Miner's Union, if a special session of the legislature were called to pass a bill assuring litigants a

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<sup>40</sup>Butte Miner, November 1, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>41</sup>Reveille, October 30, 1903, pp. 1, 4, 5.

fair trial by an impartial judge.<sup>42</sup>

The Amalgamated papers endorsed the proposal and urged the governor to summon the lawmakers to Helena at once. The Reveille, in its second extra edition during the shutdown, scorned Scallon's proposal. The paper averred the fair-trial measure could be attained only by a constitutional amendment. The Reveille also asserted Scallon's proposal was another effort to drive Heinze from the state:

There is no doubt but that William Scallon is looking for such legislation as may accomplish the ultimate aim of the Standard Oil Copper Trust--to get Heinze out of Montana. Through the people of Montana at the polls he can never prostitute this commonwealth. Experience has taught him that. Then the only chance lies in the passage of such laws as would make it intolerable for Heinze to operate his properties in Montana and that's what Rogers and Scallon are after.<sup>43</sup>

The Reveille accused Scallon of packing labor organizations and using the Amalgamated-controlled press to create the impression of a great public clamor for a special legislative session. A special session, the Reveille warned, would be used by Standard Oil to crush Heinze, and with Heinze out of the way, the trust would repeal the eight-hour law, lower wages and crush the people of Montana.<sup>44</sup>

Two days later the Reveille introduced three new elements in its effort to counteract Amalgamated pressure for a special legislative session. In a page-one story,

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<sup>42</sup>Butte Miner, November 4, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup>Reveille, November 4, 1903, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

the Reveille warned its readers of Amalgamated efforts to suppress the paper. It accused Amalgamated agents of buying 500-copy lots of the Reveille from newsboys in Great Falls, Missoula and Bozeman, and destroying the papers. The Reveille declared Amalgamated feared publicity and was trying to stop circulation of the only newspaper in the state devoted exclusively to fighting Standard Oil.<sup>45</sup>

The bulk distribution of the Reveille to population centers beyond Butte is evidence of Heinze's determined effort to counter Amalgamated's campaign to blame him for the shutdown and spur public support for a special legislative session. The issue of the Reveille distributed state-wide contained the text of Heinze's speech at the Butte courthouse, in which he rebutted Amalgamated accusations that he caused the shutdown and offered his proposals to settle the industrial controversy. Heinze had taken his case to Butte's citizens in his courthouse speech; he attempted to submit his position to the state's residents through the Reveille.

Another front-page story accused William Scallon of distorting the facts about the shutdown. According to the Reveille, 1,000 men had been put to work on various Amalgamated properties, despite Scallon's assertion that all the company's enterprises had been idled. The Reveille reasoned if Amalgamated could work 1,000 men, it could work 5,000 men. The paper said the deception indicated the shutdown was only

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<sup>45</sup>Reveille, November 6, 1903, p. 1.

an effort to intimidate Amalgamated employes and strengthen the company's political position:

This is but another evidence that the statements of William Scallon and his agents in the public press have been without a shadow of foundation.

The muzzled newspapers are trying to create the belief that the company has closed down its plant absolutely, but such is far from the case. It is only in those sections where the company thinks to gain some political advantage and to intimidate the idle employes that operations are entirely suspended.<sup>46</sup>

The Reveille did not list any of the properties at which men were working, however, or describe the location of those properties.

A third story on page one appealed to emotion, suggesting Standard Oil was preparing a campaign against Montana miners. According to the Reveille, Standard Oil was bringing thousands of Welsh workers into the country to form a labor pool. The imported labor, the paper continued, would be used in Colorado (where 50,000 miners were preparing to strike against Rockefeller-owned companies) and in Montana.<sup>47</sup>

The Reveille's appeal to fear of foreign labor and its increasingly shrill response to criticism of Heinze by the company press reflected Heinze's desperate position. The Reveille could conjure up frightening images of Standard Oil schemes to flood Montana with cheap labor and destroy unions, but it could not offer an alternative to hunger and cold. Amalgamated, on the other hand, offered relief from

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

the misery its shutdown had created: Summon the legislature to pass the law the company wanted and the company would restore Montana's prosperity.

Heinze had to rely on the Reveille's lone voice to counter the incessant demands in the Amalgamated press for a special session. The Reveille tried to compensate for its inadequate printing facilities by holding full pages of type for later issues. For example, page three of the November 6 issue of the Reveille was page five of the October 30 issue--the page comprised excerpts on the shutdown from selected papers around the nation. The November 6 issue also contained an article by P. A. O'Farrell with a London dateline. O'Farrell said the shutdown was interpreted in Europe as a Standard Oil effort to reverse Judge Clancy's decision blocking payment of dividends by Amalgamated sub-companies by intimidating the Supreme Court.<sup>48</sup>

In at least one instance, an entire issue of the Reveille consisted of pages from an earlier issue. The front page of the November 7 issue was identical to the front page of the November 6 issue; pages two, three and four were identical to pages four, five and eight of the previous issue. Although it could not compete with Amalgamated's daily papers, the Reveille tried to increase its impact by printing extra editions composed of material from earlier issues.

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

The Reveille's clever attempts to expand its influence were no match for the primacy of the company press. The Amalgamated papers had urged citizens to petition the governor to call a special legislative session. The petitions poured into Helena. Amalgamated had set the terms to end the shutdown; its papers had convinced Montana's populace the special session was their only alternative to starvation. Eighteen days after the shutdown, Governor Toole agreed to Amalgamated's terms. The Butte Inter Mountain reported: "Men wept for joy, hugged one another, ran around as if frantic. It was the wildest, happiest scene Butte ever saw."<sup>49</sup>

The company papers expressed delight at the governor's decision to call a special session. The Anaconda Standard proclaimed the news in a banner headline:<sup>50</sup>

GOVERNOR TOOLE CALLS EXTRAORDINARY SESSION  
AMALGAMATED PROPERTIES RESUME WORK TO-DAY

The Butte Miner also used banner headlines to announce the governor's proclamation and resumption of work by Amalgamated. The paper congratulated Governor Toole for calling a special session and commended Amalgamated for resuming its operations before the legislature convened. The Miner tempered the general mood of euphoria, though, by reminding its readers Amalgamated would plunge the state into economic chaos if the legislature did not do its bidding:

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<sup>49</sup>Butte Inter Mountain, November 10, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>Anaconda Standard, November 11, 1903, p. 1.

Should the lawmaking body, however, ignore the purposes of its convention, and fail to enact laws deemed essential to the property interests of this state, it is quite likely that the mines and smelters will again be closed and the industrial crisis resumed for an indefinite period.<sup>51</sup>

The Reveille admitted defeat in its four-column headline announcing the governor's decision, but suggested the struggle against Amalgamated was not over.<sup>52</sup>

THEY SUCCEEDED IN COERCING THE GOVERNOR  
BUT MONTANA IS YET TO BE HEARD FROM

In a story datelined Helena, November 12, the Reveille said Amalgamated "bulldozed" Governor Toole into calling the special session. The paper also said there was "general belief" in Helena that Amalgamated would close its properties again if the Supreme Court sustained Judge Clancy's decisions. In a page-one box, the Reveille suggested the governor amend his call for a special session by asking for a bill to give courts the right to operate mines by receivers in cases of unwarranted shutdowns. The paper said the change-of-venue bill, which it derided as the "Foul Play" bill, would not prevent another shutdown by Amalgamated.<sup>53</sup>

The Reveille's suggestion was a halfhearted effort to offer an alternative to the company's demand for a change-of-venue bill. Heinze's forces knew, however, they had no hope of bargaining with Amalgamated: The company had crushed

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<sup>51</sup>Butte Miner, November 11, 1903, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>52</sup>Reveille, November 13, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

its opposition. The Reveille acknowledged the political realities in an editorial lamenting Amalgamated's victory. The paper lauded Governor Toole as a champion of the people and hero of Montana for 20 years; it called him a man of courage, honesty and noble character. When he surrendered to the demands of the Standard Oil Copper Trust, though, the Reveille said, Governor Toole fell from his high estate:

But the relentless hammer of that mighty power he fought so well and so long beat down the courage of Joe Toole at last. He succumbed to the terrible strain of a truly terrible force and the heart that gold could not win, weakened at the ceaseless swing of the corporation cudgel.

Everybody naturally rejoiced at the tidings that the men were going back to work, but the joy was marred with regret at the means which brought it about and the shattering of a popular idol.

There is a lesson in the governor's capitulation and one that every citizen of Montana will take to heart. It is a lesson that is being taught by unscrupulous greed in every corner of this broad land—a lesson that makes fighters of many, slaves of more. It is taught in the hard school of tyranny by masters who know no law.<sup>54</sup>

The Reveille expressed great disappointment that Governor Toole had bowed to Amalgamated pressure, but it carefully avoided any suggestion the governor had been dishonest or had joined the Amalgamated camp. While not acknowledging the untenable position the governor had been put in by the Amalgamated shutdown, the Reveille chided Toole for his decision; however, the paper kept open its options to support him in the future.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.



In the same issue, the Reveille carried another article from London by P. A. O'Farrell. The shutdown was viewed in England, O'Farrell said, as a means for Amalgamated to drive up the copper price and sell its large surplus of copper on a rising market. He said the shutdown also was seen as an attempt by Rockefeller and Rogers to manipulate the stock market.<sup>56</sup>

Montana was not interested in the world-wide financial implications of the shutdown. The company press had persuaded much of the state that the economic deprivation it had tasted was the fault of F. Augustus Heinze. Despite his oratory and the efforts of the Reveille, Heinze could not refute the company's argument. Amalgamated said Heinze's legal actions had made it impossible for the company to operate in Montana. Amalgamated wanted a law to break Heinze's grip on the Butte courts: The legislature was summoned to pass that law.

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

## CHAPTER IV

### A SPECIAL SESSION AND A MASS CONVENTION

The Amalgamated shutdown for 18 days in the autumn of 1903 was brutal, but effective. The company forced the governor to call a special legislative session; the majority of Montana's wage earners and businessmen learned they were dependent on a New Jersey corporation for their livelihood. The company press in Montana rationalized the shutdown as a means for Amalgamated to protect itself from capricious judicial actions. The Amalgamated papers accused F. A. Heinze of precipitating the industrial crisis.

The machinations of corporations vying for control of Montana's rich copper resources attracted national press coverage. The Outlook commented:

It is too early to say what the outcome of this extraordinary case may be; but it is not too early to say that to permit a rich corporation to call for and get an extra session of a Legislature is to establish a precedent that is both preposterous and dangerous.<sup>1</sup>

The Engineering and Mining Journal had pointed out the culpability of Amalgamated and Heinze when the shutdown was announced. The trade weekly also placed the industrial dispute in a context that extended beyond Montana to encom-

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<sup>1</sup>"Industrial Warfare In Montana," The Outlook, December 5, 1903, p. 763.

pass the copper industry. The Journal's Boston correspondent offered a perceptive, although premature, forecast of the ultimate effect of the Amalgamated shutdown:

It is felt at this center [Boston] that the Amalgamated Company will profit from its close-down and the resultant enhancement in the price of copper. It is also felt that when mining is again resumed, it will result in a settlement of the whole copper warfare with Heinze in whatever manner it is accomplished. The Boston & Montana earned over \$5,000,000 net last year, and of this over \$1,000,000 was spent in legal expenses.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps from Boston it appeared Heinze had been crushed by Amalgamated. The shutdown had seriously weakened Heinze's labor support and circumvented the legal rulings handed down by Judge William Clancy. But Heinze still had a platform from which to oppose Amalgamated--the Reveille.

The Reveille continued to cast doubt on the veracity of William Scallon's pledge to resume Amalgamated's operations before the special session convened. The Reveille charged Scallon had broken faith with the governor by not resuming full operations. Nine days after Amalgamated resumed activity, the Reveille asserted only half the men employed before the shutdown had been put back to work on the company's Butte properties.<sup>3</sup>

There were several reasons, the Reveille said, for Amalgamated's refusal to rehire all its workers. First,

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<sup>2</sup>"Mining Stocks," The Engineering and Mining Journal, October 31, 1903, p. 677.

<sup>3</sup>Reveille, November 20, 1903, p. 1.

Amalgamated had not sold all its copper surplus and would curtail production to keep the copper price up. Second, the company was preparing for another shutdown, either after the special session, or when it received an adverse ruling from the district court. Third, Amalgamated employees who spoke out against the company during the shutdown were being punished by not being rehired. Fourth, employees who had applied for work with Heinze during the shutdown had been blacklisted by Amalgamated.<sup>4</sup>

In the same issue, the Reveille published in a supplement an article from Pearsons' Magazine by Henry George Jr., on the formation of Amalgamated. The paper urged its subscribers to read George's article carefully:

Then, having read this description of the character of the men who are at the helm of this pirate craft and having refreshed your memory with the story of their record in Montana, turn to the present situation and remember that this is the horde that is now holding Montana by the throat and compelling, not demanding, a special session of the legislature to enact such laws as they shall dictate. These are the men who are calling aloud for 'justice' in Montana--justice from two judges whom they failed to purchase, to ruin or destroy.<sup>5</sup>

The Reveille wanted its readers to see the link between Standard Oil and Amalgamated and understand the methods the "copper trust" used to force its will on Montana. Heinze's supporters did not have the political muscle to counter Amalgamated's coercive tactics; the Reveille

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 1, 2. [Page 2 is numbered page 4. Other pages also are incorrectly numbered. To prevent confusion, correct page numbers are used in footnote references.]

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

could only appeal to the sense of outrage and indignation felt by many of the state's residents. The paper also said it had received numerous protests from subscribers who had not received their copies of the Reveille. Amalgamated agents, the Reveille said, were trying to suppress and destroy the paper because it was the only publication devoted to fighting the Standard Oil copper trust.<sup>6</sup>

The Reveille's protestations were in vain. Amalgamated had forced the governor to summon the legislators. There was little doubt Amalgamated would bludgeon the state with another shutdown if the legislators did not pass the laws the company demanded.

Heinze formulated a new strategy. He had been unsuccessful in efforts to offset Amalgamated's coercive tactics with oratory and a weekly newspaper. Heinze proposed a new political party be formed and he called on Montana's citizens to support the party in opposition to the "Standard Oil copper trust." The November 27 issue of the Reveille proclaimed the new political movement with a banner headline:<sup>7</sup>

THE PEOPLE OF MONTANA TO FIGHT THE STANDARD OIL TRUST

The paper's call to arms was reflected in its make-up. Ears were added to both sides of the flag on the front page. The left ear contained the caption: "A Newspaper

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Reveille, November 27, 1903, p. 1.

Opposed to Standard Oil Domination in Montana." The caption in the right ear read: "Published at 28 West Broadway, Butte, Montana, Every Friday Afternoon." The front page contained a cartoon—the first since the 1902 election—depicting William Rockefeller and Henry Rogers as thugs threatening to beat and shoot a young woman representing Montana. The strident tone of the front page conveyed a sense of urgency and desperation; headlines included the phrases: "Bow To The Trusts," "He Will Kill Union Labor," "Trying to Rob the Ranchers," "United Against A Common Foe," "Defying Montana's Laws," and "Fight the Standard Oil Trust."<sup>8</sup>

The Reveille announced a public meeting would be held in Helena, December 7, to form an organization to oppose the "Standard Oil copper trust." The paper said the trust was controlled by outsiders, ruthless men like Henry H. Rogers. Standard Oil had demonstrated its ability to crush Montana, the Reveille continued, now the people must put aside their political differences and rally under one banner to curb the trust.<sup>9</sup>

The Reveille accurately forecast the company papers would brand the new political movement a Heinze party. The paper tried to counter that assertion by describing Heinze as an important ally, but not the central issue in the people's fight against the copper trust. The paper also

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 1, 4.

attempted to force its readers to choose sides in the struggle by framing the issue as a two-sided proposition. A caption in a box on the editorial page asked: "Are you with the people or are you with the Standard Oil Copper Trust? Now is the time to declare your independence."<sup>10</sup>

In an editorial entitled "To Fight Under One Flag," the Reveille emotionally appealed to Montana residents to combat the copper trust through a new political party. The paper contended:

The Amalgamated shutdown and coercion of the governor and legislature signal the danger posed to the state by Standard Oil;

The events of the past 30 days show the political parties are unable to regulate the trusts;

Control of the copper trust was the overriding issue in Montana;

And Democrats and Republicans should retain their party loyalty on national issues, but unite under the anti-trust banner in Montana. The editorial concluded:

Therefore it is to the best interests of all good citizens to unite in a cause that has freedom for its watchword and independence for its goal. It is not a question of private gain, but common weal; it is not a question of time-worn issues of tariff or party shibboleths [sic]; it is the question of Montana for Montanans and not for the Standard Oil Copper Trust of New York and New Jersey.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

The formation of an anti-trust party was a logical development in the evolution of Heinze's political strategy. In 1900 Heinze had joined forces with William A. Clark; in 1902 Heinze had promoted a fusion primarily between Democrats and Laborites in Silver Bow County. Public attention was temporarily diverted from Heinze's new movement, however, by the political maneuvering in Helena.

The Second Extraordinary Session of Montana's Eighth Legislative Assembly convened December 1, 1903. In his message to a joint session of the House and Senate, Governor Joseph K. Toole asked the legislators to add a provision to the state law for the disqualification of district court judges, and give the Supreme Court the power of review in equity cases. The governor also asked the lawmakers to outlaw employment of children under 16 in mines and adopt the eight-hour work day for public works employes.<sup>12</sup>

The governor's message was a formality; the lawmakers knew what was expected of them. The Amalgamated press made sure the legislators understood their task. The Butte Miner counseled vigilance in introducing and steering bills through the legislature for the governor's signature.<sup>13</sup> The Miner ran a front-page story on the special session each day and

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<sup>12</sup>Montana, House Journal of the Second Extraordinary Session of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana (Helena, Montana: State Publishing Co., 1904), pp. 10-11.

<sup>13</sup>Butte Miner, December 1, 1903, p. 4.



for the first week devoted a daily editorial to the progress of the "Fair Trial" bill.<sup>14</sup>

Heinze lacked the power to control the session; his political influence was restricted primarily to Silver Bow County. Despite overwhelming odds against them, Heinze's forces attempted to block the Amalgamated-sponsored bills. John MacGinniss led the Heinze forces in the House. MacGinniss moved the bill relating to the disqualification of judges be indefinitely postponed. The measure lost. He tried to block the work of the legislature on a procedural point and was overruled. Other Labor and Fusion Democrats tried unsuccessfully to block passage of the "Fair Trial" bill.<sup>15</sup>

Although the Heinze bloc could not muster the votes needed to thwart Amalgamated, it could lash its foe with fierce rhetoric. William Whiteley, Labor party representative from Silver Bow County, offered a resolution that said in part:

'BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the sense of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana that no extra session of the legislature should or ought to be called at any time at the threat, behest or command of any corporation, person or persons. That the regular sessions of the legislature furnish adequate means for correcting, repealing or enacting all necessary measures and that it is an outrage upon the decency of the state and a cloud upon her fair name and an ignominious surrender of her honor and manhood to summon at the expense of the state an extra session of the legislature to enable any person or corporation to further his or its own personal interests.'<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Butte Miner, December 1-7, 1903.

<sup>15</sup>Montana, House Journal, pp. 21-23.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

The resolution failed on a 34-12 vote. Perhaps some of the lawmakers were perplexed about how the state could protect "her honor and manhood," although it is likely they were more concerned with Amalgamated might that a mixed metaphor.

On the fifth day of the session, the House passed on third reading bills authorizing a change of venue in civil trials. The vote was 52-13, with 6 absent and 1 excused from voting. The same afternoon, the House passed on third reading a bill permitting disqualification of district court judges for bias or prejudice. The vote was 50-15, with 6 absent and 1 excused from voting. In a final effort to protect Heinze's judicial power base, John MacGinniss offered a motion for indefinite postponement. The motion lost.<sup>17</sup>

Heinze's forces fared no better in the Senate. By the fourth day the upper chamber had referred to the judiciary committee bills relating to the disqualification of judges and change of venue in civil trials. On the seventh day the Senate resolved itself into a committee of the whole and recommended concurrence in the House-passed measures on disqualification of judges and change of venue.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-26.

<sup>18</sup>Montana, Senate Journal of the Second Extraordinary Session of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the State of Montana (Helena, Montana: State Publishing Co., 1904), pp. 12-15.

Senator Jacob Kennedy, Democrat from Deer Lodge County, moved the Senate indefinitely postpone the bill relating to disqualification of judges. The motion lost. The Senate adopted the committee of the whole report 24-1, with 1 absent. Kennedy cast the lone negative vote.<sup>19</sup>

The bill was given the third reading and passed 21-4, with 1 absent. Three Democrats joined Kennedy in opposing the measure, but Amalgamated clearly had more than enough votes to control the upper chamber. Again, Heinze's supporters had only words to hurl at their opponents. Kennedy was permitted to enter his objections to the judicial disqualification bill into the record.<sup>20</sup>

The legislature completed its work in a perfunctory manner. On the tenth day the Speaker of the House read a letter from Governor Toole. The governor reluctantly agreed to sign the change-of-venue and judicial disqualification measures<sup>21</sup> and the other bills he had asked for in his

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19.

<sup>21</sup>The change-of-venue act declared a judge must change the place of trial in civil actions: 1) When an improper county is designated in the complaint, 2) When there is reason to believe an impartial trial cannot be obtained, 3) When witnesses are inconvenienced to the extent justice is hampered, 4) When, from any cause, the judge is disqualified from acting.

The judicial disqualification act declared a judge or justice of the peace must not act in any civil proceeding: 1) To which he is a party, 2) When he is related to either party, 3) When he has been attorney for either party, 4) When either party files an affidavit stating he believes he cannot have a fair trial because of bias or prejudice

proclamation convening the special session.<sup>22</sup>

On December 11, 1903, the House and Senate adjourned sine die. It had taken Amalgamated 11 days to break Heinze's domination of the judiciary in Silver Bow County. The Amalgamated papers viewed the work of the special session with satisfaction. The Standard editorialized:

We doubt whether under statehood in Montana there has been held a session of the Montana legislature so marked by an earnest purpose to do the right thing and a zealous effort to dispose of pending business with becoming speed. The two houses accomplished well the work for which they were commissioned. . . .<sup>23</sup>

The Miner congratulated the governor and legislators for passing the "Fair Trial" laws. The paper observed "The purposes for which the extraordinary session of the legislature was convened have been accomplished and the curtain has been rung down on another interesting chapter in the law-making history of the state."<sup>24</sup>

The Inter Mountain revealed its attitude in a front-page cartoon depicting Heinze and two henchmen with musical instruments walking along railroad tracks away from Helena. One sign read "Back to the Mines" and another read "Equal

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on the part of the judge. The act permitted the disqualification of up to five judges by the plaintiff for bias or prejudice and up to five by the defendant. See: Laws and Resolutions of the State of Montana Passed at the Second Extraordinary Session of the Eighth Legislative Assembly (Helena, Montana: State Publishing Co., 1903), pp. 8-10.

<sup>22</sup> Montana, House Journal, pp. 36-37.

<sup>23</sup> Anaconda Standard, December 11, 1903, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Butte Miner, December 12, 1903, p. 4.

Justice to all Insured by the Fair Trial Law." In an editorial lauding the legislators for passing the "Fair Trial" bill, the Inter Mountain said "the new laws will operate to relieve the judiciary of the state from stigma and suspicion which arises from flagrant abuse of power by any member of the bench."<sup>25</sup>

The Reveille based its opposition to the change-of-venue bill on the premise that Standard Oil resorted to judicial bribery and blackmail to promote its interests. Amalgamated, the Reveille constantly reminded its readers, was a foreign corporation created and controlled by Standard Oil. Amalgamated agents had tried unsuccessfully to bribe and corrupt Judge Clancy and Judge Harney. Therefore, the Reveille argued, the change-of-venue measure (which the paper had branded the "Foul Trial" bill) would prove a "No Trial" bill:

Out of the fifteen judges in the state the 'No Trial' bill provides for the disqualification of ten by the professional blackmailer and affidavit-maker. As the affidavit of disqualification may not necessarily be filed until the day which the judge has set for the trial of a suit, and as in big cases, at least a year may be consumed in preparation before the day of actual trial, it will be seen that by a clever manipulation of the affidavit-maker the trial of any suit may be postponed for a period of ten years.

This is one of the provisions of the new measure which makes it essentially a rich man's bill.

No litigant of ordinary means could afford to follow the course and to meet the expenditure which the new measure provides for.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Butte Inter Mountain, December 10, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup>Reveille, December 11, 1903, p. 1.

The Reveille also warned the bill would deny justice to a man of modest means:

Perhaps the most vicious feature of the measure, next to the affidavit-maker's opportunity, is the provision for change of venue. It means that a poor man will have no business going into the courts, no matter what his grievance, no matter what the extent of his injury.

If he is a Butte miner and has a leg cut off in one of the Amalgamated company's mines through the negligence of the company, he may be dragged through every county in the state for a period of ten years at his own expense, furnishing his own witnesses and the other costs of such a proceeding.

The company is able and willing to furnish its own affidavit-makers and transportation for all the witnesses it requires.<sup>27</sup>

As one writer has observed, the bill was not unreasonable and Montana was one of the few states that did not have a change-of-venue law. The tactics used by Amalgamated to obtain passage of the law, however, were unjust and dictatorial.<sup>28</sup>

Heinze undoubtedly knew he had no chance of blocking the "Fair Trial" bill in the special legislative session. His strategy in holding a mass convention in Helena during the legislative session, though, served a double purpose: The convention reminded the rest of the state the legislature was, in fact, subservient to the demands of a corporation and the gathering reflected a significant, broad-based opposition to Amalgamated's coercive political tactics.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Carl B. Glasscock, The War of the Copper Kings (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1935), p. 288.

Newspapers across the country had commented on the conditions under which the Montana legislature had been summoned to a special session. The potential political force of the anti-trust movement was not overlooked by a writer for Leslies Magazine who reported

Over 600 delegates were present, representing cattlemen, sheepmen, miners, ranchers, lumbermen and businessmen. Its avowed object was a campaign against the Standard Oil Copper Trust. The Amalgamated newspapers were quick to point out that it was a Heinze party, dominated by the United Copper Company (Heinze's company). . . . But the fact remains that there were present as delegates a former Governor or two, some ex-Congressmen and other representative citizens from both the Republican and the Democratic party.<sup>29</sup>

The Amalgamated press lost little time in attacking the new movement. Several corporations and wealthy men were involved in Montana politics, the Standard acknowledged in an editorial, and Heinze had the right to join the fray, too. The Standard then sarcastically observed

The appearance of the United Copper company as an avowed political party in Montana really is a novelty. Its resolutions say that it proposes to 'fight against the domination of the trusts;' it is an anti-corporation party to the extent that it is an anti-any-corporation-except-Heinze's party in Montana politics.<sup>30</sup>

The Miner echoed the Standard in describing the mass meeting as a fraud perpetrated by Heinze in an effort to protect his financial holdings. The Miner asserted most of the delegates to the mass convention were employes of

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<sup>29</sup>William MacLeod Raine, "The Fight For Copper," Leslies Magazine, February, 1904, pp. 578-79.

<sup>30</sup>Anaconda Standard, December 8, 1903, p. 6.

the United Copper Company; it dismissed the rest of the participants as "soreheads who hope to secure through the new party a political recognition that has heretofore been denied them for a cause."<sup>31</sup>

The Inter Mountain also maintained the mass convention was attended primarily by Heinze employes and failed to create a new political movement. The Reveille, on the other hand, viewed the convention as a success and enthusiastically heralded the anti-trust movement with a front-page cartoon and a banner headline that read:<sup>32</sup>

NOW IT IS THE INDEPENDENT PEOPLE OF MONTANA  
AGAINST THE INFAMOUS STANDARD OIL COPPER TRUST

The Reveille's story on the mass convention began with a jab at the Amalgamated press:

Devoid of the blatant advertisement of the muzzled newspapers and the usual artificial respiration resorted to by the Standard Oil publication department when it wishes to herald the arrival of one of its creatures, the anti-trust party of Montana was formed here yesterday.

Six hundred and fifty delegates, representing every county in the state, . . . gathered at the Auditorium and took effective measures by which the independent citizens of the state of Montana can withstand the attempted domination of the Standard Oil Copper Trust in the political affairs of the state.<sup>33</sup>

The Reveille printed a stenographic account of a portion of the convention to counter what the paper called the distorted, garbled versions of the muzzled press. The

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<sup>31</sup>Butte Miner, December 9, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup>Reveille, December 11, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.



limitations of the Reveille's staff and equipment were reflected in the paper's inability to print the complete transcript of the convention in the December 11 issue. The proceedings of the afternoon and evening sessions of the meeting were published in the December 18 issue of the Reveille. Heinze's forces were more interested in publishing a complete account of the mass convention, even if it required two weeks, than in a normal news story summarizing the event in two or three columns.

The problems of press coverage had been a major concern of delegates to the mass meeting. Several speakers criticized Amalgamated newspapers for suppressing and distorting news the corporation considered threatening. Former Governor Robert B. Smith offered a resolution, adopted by the delegates, to publish a full account of the convention in pamphlet form, and to circulate the pamphlets in the state. Another delegate, A. W. Martin of Lewis and Clark County, delineated between reporters and editors. He said most reporters were fair, honorable men who would give an objective account of the convention. (Martin's statement was applauded, an indication, perhaps, the delegates sympathized with the reporters, although they may have disliked the papers they represented.) Martin went on to warn the delegates, though, the daily papers in the state would not give a fair hearing to an activity unless it was in the

interest of the Amalgamated company.<sup>34</sup>

The decision to publish a pamphlet of the mass convention was a tacit acknowledgment of Amalgamated control of the state's newspapers. The delegates wanted to publicize their new political organization, but clearly distrusted the Amalgamated press and realized the Reveille was inadequate to carry the news throughout the state. The decision to publish a pamphlet was a logical choice for a political group that viewed the daily press as a mouthpiece for the organization it feared and despised--the Amalgamated Copper Company.

Amalgamated also was condemned by the convention for the October shutdown. The delegates were reminded the company used the shutdown to force the governor to call a special legislative session. A resolution was passed castigating Amalgamated for locking 15,000 men out of employment "while 50,000 women and children, dependent upon a husband's or a brother's daily wage, were brought face to face with want and possible starvation, and into whose hearts this cold-blooded, merciless and autocratic action, injected despair and hopeless suffering, . . ."<sup>35</sup>

The final action during the afternoon session was adoption of a ten-point platform. The measure put the convention on record: 1) Opposing corporate control of Mon-

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<sup>34</sup>Anti-Trust Party, Proceedings of the Mass Convention, (Helena, Montana, December 7, 1903), p. 9.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

tana political affairs, 2) Favoring a constitutional ammendment authorizing the initiative and referendum, 3) Favoring a state board of equalization with broad power to assess, equalize or regulate values and assessments, 4) Favoring appointment or election of a state railroad commission with power to regulate passenger and freight rates, 5) Favoring a state primary election law, 6) Denouncing the method by which a corporation coerced the governor into calling a special legislative session, 7) Supporting payment by corporations of their just share of state taxes, 8) Condemning "bribers and political tyrants," 9) Advocating an employer's liability law, 10) Supporting an ammendment making the eight-hour work day part of the state constitution.<sup>36</sup>

The mass meeting was more than a show of strength by anti-trust elements in the state. The delegates also laid plans to wrest political control in Montana away from the Amalgamated company and its supporters. The platform proposed establishment of two state political parties, appropriately named the Anti-Trust Democratic party and the Anti-Trust Republican party. Each party was to have a state central committee, with one representative from each county. The platform report, including plans for the new parties, was adopted by the convention.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-19.

The Helena meeting also was a morale booster. It brought together disparate elements in the state who had been frustrated in their efforts to challenge Amalgamated's political power. The special session of the legislature was a concrete, if unpleasant, demonstration of the company's ability to force Montana lawmakers to bow to corporate demands. The mass meeting, almost in the shadow of the capitol, reminded Amalgamated the opposition forces may have been defeated, but they were not in retreat. The emotional declamations to the delegates stressed unity in the face of a common threat. Most of the speakers urged their listeners to put aside political differences and join together to oppose not a political party or philosophy, but a corporation.

The permanent chairman of the convention, W. B. George, mayor of Billings, exhorted his listeners and Montana's citizens to

come out of their holes and come into the movement; this movement is not for any one man to control the state of Montana; it is a movement entirely of the people and by the people--let them come up to the idea that every man must stand up for his rights.<sup>38</sup>

By the time the evening session began, delegates had been regaled by orators who castigated, ridiculed and condemned Amalgamated and the company's role in Montana's political life. The crowd was ready for its hero to deliver a verbal coup de grâce to the enemy. There were

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

repeated calls for F. Augustus Heinze: The man who had stood up to Rogers and Rockefeller, the man who was leading the fight against the Amalgamated Copper Company.

Heinze came forward. He told his audience he had hoped it would not be necessary for him to address the convention. The best way to discredit the anti-trust movement, Heinze told the crowd, was to brand it a "Heinze movement." He continued:

And for that reason, my friends, I desire most of all in the interest of our common good, not to be called upon to address you on the subject of the matters under consideration by this mass meeting today. But responding to your call I feel that a duty has been thrust upon me, and as a citizen of the state of Montana I do not propose to shirk the responsibility (hears and applause).<sup>39</sup>

The reluctant citizen proceeded to deliver the longest speech of the convention. Heinze recited the familiar litany of Standard Oil abuses. He said Senator William A. Clark controlled the Democratic party, Thomas Carter headed the Republican party, but both Montana political parties were subservient to Standard Oil. The legislature is controlled by Standard Oil, Heinze intoned, and the railroads also pose a corporate threat to Montana. The Amalgamated copper trust dodges its fair share of taxes, while the cattlemen's taxes are increased, he continued. Heinze's oratory was punctuated frequently with applause and cheers from the audience.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-26.

Heinze included the Amalgamated press in his demonstration. He told his listeners:

The greatest bulwark for the liberties of the people, the great protection that the common citizen has against the aggressions of capital, is the comment of the press upon any situation. When the press is controlled in the interest of any particular corporation which, whenever it does not want to say anything, sends out a wire to this paper and that paper all over the state saying, 'Cut this out; suppress it,' and nothing is said, the result is that the people of the state, while they are paying a nickel for value received, get nothing but what is so tampered with in the interests of the editors and owners, that there is not a vestige of reliability to be placed upon it.

And, my friends, that is a matter of most serious import to every man in this state; while you may not realize it, it is just as though these men came to you and picked your pockets.<sup>41</sup>

In his peroration, Heinze warned his listeners Amalgamated would cut Montana's \$3.50-a-day wage scale to the \$2.00 level paid in Michigan, or the \$1.75 rate paid in Pennsylvania, as soon as one obstacle was removed—F. A. Heinze. That need not be the state's fate, Heinze said, if Montana people put aside party differences and join the fight against the Standard Oil Company. "I cannot see any other issue in the state of Montana," he concluded, "excepting that, will the people rule or will the corporations? And I hope, my friends, that you will help me and I will help you." Heinze was answered with prolonged and tumultuous applause.<sup>42</sup>

Two speakers followed Heinze, but their comments

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-28.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

were anticlimactic. Heinze's resonant voice, charismatic personality and stirring oratory had been the major event of the mass meeting. The figure of the fearless young man defying the power and will of the "Standard Oil copper trust" had given courage to 650 men of diverse background; a new movement had been created (in reality, a demoralized movement had been revived under a new banner). The delegates had established the machinery for the new anti-trust parties; the mass meeting was gaveled to adjournment.

The Reveille eagerly took up the new cause. In an editorial entitled "This Cause Will Win," the paper cited the howling of the Amalgamated press as evidence of the success of the new anti-trust organization. The Reveille said it had anticipated the muzzled press would label the Anti-Trust party a Heinze movement to discredit the new organization and undermine Heinze's popular support. Heinze could leave Montana a wealthy man, the editorial continued, but he has chosen to remain and fight the trust. The Reveille reminded its readers:

Today in Colorado the people are powerless; the governor—a tool of the Standard Oil company—has called out the militia, and the men whom the New York pirates are unable to control by ballots, they terrorize by bullets. As in Montana, the Standard Oil is but a comparatively recent arrival in Colorado, and yet so great is the power which it has acquired in that brief period, that the entire industrial activity of that state is paralyzed, and free-born Americans are shot down like dogs.

How long shall it be before the Copper Trust introduces in Montana the policy it is pursuing in Colorado? Could such a policy be pursued in Colorado if the Copper Trust had as formidable a foe in that state as it has

in Montana? Is it better then that the people of Montana should wait until the Standard Oil gang has driven Heinze from the state before they take up arms against that ruthless corporation?<sup>43</sup>

The editorial also maintained nothing was done at the mass meeting solely for Heinze; none of the delegates went to the capitol to lobby against the "Copper Trust" bills before the legislature. The Reveille contended the measures advocated by the Anti-Trust party, including the initiative and referendum, primary election law, railroad commission and strong state board of equalization, would benefit the common people and assist them in their fight against corporate rule in Montana. Nevertheless, the implication was clear: Heinze was the most formidable opponent to the copper trust in Montana; the average man's best chance to combat the trust was to support Heinze.<sup>44</sup>

The Reveille insisted the mass convention was called to organize a new party to combat corporate domination of Montana's political institutions. The Amalgamated papers maintained the mass meeting was a Heinze-inspired lobby to oppose the "Fair Trial" bill. According to the Standard, Heinze misjudged the mood of the legislators regarding the change-of-venue measure:

Under different conditions the scheme to hold a convention in Helena alongside the legislative session, so that lobby work could be accomplished, might have

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<sup>43</sup>Reveille, December 11, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.



worked. But, at any rate, the Heinze spectacle was dated a week too late. Last week's action in the house, in passing a series of fair trial bills, made the times hopelessly out of joint for the performance Mr. Heinze had arranged.<sup>45</sup>

The Miner dismissed the mass meeting as a power play on behalf of Heinze's corporate interests. The reaction of the Inter Mountain, however, was more vociferous. The paper cast aspersions on the intelligence of the delegates to the convention, derided the gathering as a Heinze-controlled meeting and belittled its program. The Inter Mountain displayed its hostility in its description of the delegates:

It is only fair to say there was a large attendance, and it is only the truth to say the bulk of the audience was there through the same curiosity that would attract a crowd to any free show where there was a promise that some entertainment would be furnished and some good music heard.<sup>46</sup>

The Inter Mountain's contempt for the new anti-trust organization was not limited to its news columns or editorials. Cartoonist Al Dutton (who joined the Reveille staff a few weeks later) depicted Heinze and his associates trying vainly to inflate a balloon labeled "United Court and Copper Co's. Anti-Trust Trust."<sup>47</sup> The Inter Mountain relied on Dutton's talents to disparage the Anti-Trust party as a Heinze movement. In a series of front-page

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<sup>45</sup> Anaconda Standard, December 9, 1903, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Butte Inter Mountain, December 7, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Butte Inter Mountain, December 8, 1903, p. 1.

cartoons, Dutton portrayed Heinze and his followers trying unsuccessfully to care for an infant representing the "New Party" and finally putting it in a house marked "Home For Foundlings."<sup>48</sup>

Perhaps the Inter Mountain believed it had vanquished the anti-trust movement with the final strokes of Dutton's pen, but the Reveille reported the new party was warmly embraced by Montana's independent citizens and newspapers. A three-column headline on the front page declared:<sup>49</sup>

POPULARITY OF ANTI-TRUST PARTY  
CAUSES THEM MUCH DISTRESS

The Reveille asserted the muzzled press had received orders from New York to discredit the anti-trust movement. That effort, the paper said, indicated the Standard Oil Copper Trust recognized the importance and strength of the new party. The Reveille also insisted the "free newspapers" in Montana supported the anti-trust movement. Referring its readers to "such of the comment of the free newspapers as it was found possible to print this week, . . ." the Reveille predicted "if the opinions of the citizens are reflected in the newspapers which are independent in their ownership, the anti-trust party will sweep the state from end to end."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Butte Inter Mountain, December 14-18, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup>Reveille, December 18, 1903, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

The Reveille filled two pages with excerpts from Montana newspapers--most of them weeklies--on the anti-trust movement and the special session. In the same issue, the paper published the remaining stenographic account of the mass convention. In an editorial entitled "Shouting 'Wolf'," the Reveille answered Amalgamated's charge that the anti-trust movement was a Heinze movement:

The public of Montana has always been alive to the Trust's subterfuge in using Heinze as the pretended object of its fight. Heinze is only fighting for his own. His assistance to the people in rescuing the state from the domination of the Standard Oil company is timely. When the people decide that they can curb this gigantic corporation, which has never been defeated in any other state, without the assistance of Mr. Heinze, he can gracefully retire and the past has shown that he can take care of himself and his interests.

If the Trust newspapers would discuss the numerous measures which concern the public in general rather than those which concern the Trust, it would not be so eminently apparent that the Trust is looking for the control of Montana to further the private ends of the money-kings of Wall Street.

Heinze is not an issue. It is a question of liberty--a question whether Montana shall be ruled by one man in New York or by her own free people.<sup>51</sup>

The Reveille concluded the year by devoting three-fourths of its front page to a huge cartoon entitled "Rockefeller's Montana Christmas Tree." The cartoon depicted Henry Rogers as Santa Claus, decorating a Christmas tree with gifts labeled "Ten Company Stores," "Legislatures," "Muzzled Press," "W. A. Clark," "No Trial Bill" and other symbols of Amalgamated's political power in Montana. Rockefeller tells Rogers the presents are

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

fine, but expresses disappointment that "Santa" did not bring him the Anti-Trust party.<sup>52</sup>

Heinze had little to cheer him at Christmas, 1903. He had lost control of the Silver Bow County courts, Amalgamated had broken his popular support by threatening the state with economic ruin and the opposition press had launched a campaign to discredit the anti-trust movement. Nevertheless, Heinze prepared for a campaign in 1904 that would decide the struggle between "Standard Oil and the people."

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<sup>52</sup>Reveille, December 25, 1903, p. 1.

## CHAPTER V

### THE CAMPAIGN IN THE MINES

The famous Anaconda Hill, in the eastern part of the city, is probably the richest piece of mining ground that has ever been developed. . . . Hundreds of stacks standing like grim sentinels, pour out dense volumes of black sulphurous smoke, telling of the increasing activity going on far below, where there is neither night nor day, nor summer nor winter, but where the glimmer of the miner's lamp, the sound of his pick, and the dull<sup>1</sup> rumble of the ore car, are seen and heard incessantly.

--Butte Business Men's Association: Butte, Montana (1904?)

Saturday afternoon and evening there was perpetrated on the 1,000-foot level of the Rarus mine where the workings adjoin those of the Pennsylvania, one of the most cowardly and brutal outrages that the history of the mining section contains, and, although one week has elapsed, not a single line of the murderous assault has appeared in the muzzled newspapers of Montana.

Employees of the Amalgamated Copper company acting under instructions from their superintendents, blew up the stopes of the Rarus mine and injured several miners, working for the Montana Ore Purchasing company. . . .<sup>2</sup>

--The Reveille, Dec., 18, 1903.

Both accounts of underground mining activity are partially correct, but neither the Butte Business Men's Association nor the Reveille told the full story of the struggle to extract Butte's mineral wealth. The conflict

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<sup>1</sup>Butte Business Men's Association, Butte, Montana (Seattle, Wash.: Shorey Book Store, Facsimile Reproduction, 1967), (1904?), pp. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup>Reveille, December 18, 1903, p. 1.

in the mines and courts preceded the 1904 political campaign in Montana. With passage of the "Fair Trial" bill in December, 1903, the Amalgamated Copper company stripped F. Augustus Heinze of one of his most important weapons--control of the Butte courts. Heinze remained a threat to Amalgamated, though, through his knowledge of Butte's underground copper resources, and his willingness to mine his opponent's ore deposits.

One writer described Heinze "as the most adept pirate in the history of American capitalist privateering up to his time; and probably no one has equaled his achievements to this day."<sup>3</sup> Heinze also was a man of his time, an entrepreneur who thrived in an era of rapid and often ruthless industrial expansion. Like other captains of industry, Heinze asked no quarter--and gave none.

Heinze had turned the apex law to his own advantage. He bored into adjacent ore deposits from his Rarus mine, asserting his neighbor's rich veins apexed on his property. He relied on friendly judges to issue injunctions halting work in disputed areas and often to award him contested ore deposits.<sup>4</sup>

The Engineering and Mining Journal sounded the first warning about underground warfare in Butte:

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<sup>3</sup>Joseph Kinsey Howard, Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome (New illus. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 69.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 69-71.

Serious trouble is likely to occur in the underground workings of the Pennsylvania Mine, between the forces of the Montana Ore Purchasing Company and the Boston & Montana Company. Both outfits are at work on what is known as No. 7 vein of the Pennsylvania ground. Some months ago the Montana Ore Purchasing Company's forces captured certain workings in vein No. 7 (and are still in possession), driving off the miners then at work for the Boston & Montana Company. The latter company is also mining another portion of the same vein, each party working toward the other; when they meet somebody will probably get hurt.<sup>5</sup>

The trade weekly also reported Amalgamated had changed its leasing policy. Following a recommendation from its Butte management, Amalgamated began issuing leases on its idle mines. The leasing policy should sharply increase Butte's daily output, the Mining Journal predicted.<sup>6</sup>

Amalgamated's leasing policy was more than an effort to promote small mining operations. According to one theory, it was a way to side-step injunctions that had idled Amalgamated properties. The company asserted the lessees were not subject to the court orders, and the disputed areas were put back in production. Heinze used a similar tactic by transferring the title to a portion of his Rarus mine enjoined by Amalgamated to the Johnstown Mining company, a firm he had set up.<sup>7</sup>

The major underground clashes between Heinze and Amalgamated occurred in the Michael Davitt, Rarus, Leonard,

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<sup>5</sup>"Special Correspondence," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXV (June 6, 1903), p. 869.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ira B. Joralemon, Romantic Copper (New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, 1934), p. 102.

Pennsylvania and Minnie Healy mines. Heinze's Rarus bordered the Davitt and Pennsylvania; the Minnie Healy, claimed by Heinze, bordered the Leonard.

Much has been written about the underground warfare, but only one of the major participants, Reno H. Sales, has published an eyewitness account of the dispute. Sales, a geologist for the Amalgamated company, usually was appointed by the court to inspect disputed ore bodies for his firm. Heinze's engineer was appointed to represent the Montana Ore Purchasing company. Both sides were supposed to admit the court-appointed inspectors to their property.<sup>8</sup>

Heinze frequently complained the inspectors caused an inconvenience to his miners, and Judge William Clancy discharged the Amalgamated inspector. Heinze's inspectors, however, entered Amalgamated mines to survey the disputed areas. After completing the survey, Heinze's representatives gave him detailed information on his opponent's mining activity. Heinze used the data to mine the disputed veins without penetrating his neighbor's workings.<sup>9</sup>

The conflict between Heinze and Boston copper magnate A. S. Bigelow in 1897 had triggered the Butte copper war. In June, 1898, Federal Judge Hiram Knowles had issued an injunction restraining operations in contested areas of the Davitt mine. A truce between Heinze and the Boston

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<sup>8</sup>Reno H. Sales, Underground Warfare at Butte (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1964), p. 27.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 27-28.



interests remained in effect until 1903.<sup>10</sup>

The legal battle continued on other fronts, however, and as the number of mines and ore deposits idled by court orders increased, Butte's copper production decreased. The Engineering and Mining Journal observed: "The effect of the various law suits between the Amalgamated Copper Company and the Montana Ore Purchasing Company is now becoming an important factor, influencing to a large extent the production of the Butte copper mines."<sup>11</sup>

By fall, 1902, lawsuits had closed the Nipper, Parnell and Schweizer mines; three veins of the Cora mine; (all Montana Ore Purchasing company properties), and the Minnie Healy mine, which had been operated by a Heinze representative. Amalgamated had been enjoined from operating the Michael Davitt, the Leonard and the largest veins of the Pennsylvania mine.<sup>12</sup>

The value of Montana's copper output declined sharply between 1900 and 1902: In 1900, it was \$39.8 million; in 1901, \$36.7-million; in 1902, \$24.6-million.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Robert G. Raymer, Montana: The Land and the People, I (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1930), pp. 494-95.

<sup>11</sup>"Notes on Butte, Montana," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXIV (October 4, 1902), p. 440.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Montana, Biennial Report of the Inspector of Mines of the State of Montana (Helena, Montana: Independent Publishing Company, December 1, 1906), p. 43.

Lower prices were partly responsible for the reduced value of Butte's copper output. The result of depressed prices and decreased production (and the increased costs of complex litigation) was reflected in Amalgamated's dividend record. The corporation paid 8 per cent in 1900, 7½ per cent in 1901, 2½ per cent in 1902 and 2 per cent in 1903 and 1904.<sup>14</sup>

Another index of economic activity—corporate net earnings statements—suggests Heinze was hardest hit by the copper warfare. The Engineering and Mining Journal published the following net earnings statements for the year ending June, 1903:<sup>15</sup>

Anaconda Mining Company: \$1.589-million, up \$300,000 from 1902.

Boston & Montana Company: \$4.053-million, up \$2.413-million from 1902.

Montana Ore Purchasing Company: \$601, 250, nearly the same figure as 1902.

The Mining Journal cited reports filed with the county assessors as the source for the figures. The trade weekly warned, however, the figures were the only ones made public and were compiled only to meet the limited requirements

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<sup>14</sup>"General Mining News," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXX (July 29, 1905), p. 180.

<sup>15</sup>"Montana Mining News," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXVI (July 11, 1903), p. 67.

of the assessors; therefore, net earnings statements were not necessarily accurate.

The underground conflict is perhaps the most convincing evidence that both sides were hurt by the expensive litigation, and both needed to tap court-enjoined sources of ore to finance their fight. As the smaller producer, Heinze had the greater need to mine more copper. He did mine it--primarily from his opponent.

Heinze had built his political power base in Butte by convincing many of the miners he was battling the heartless "Standard Oil copper trust" on their behalf. The Reveille promoted an image of Heinze as a champion of the working man, while at the same time defending Heinze's business interests. The underground raids on neighboring claims were part of Heinze's business operations; the Reveille defended them with silence and skillful distortion of the facts.

The first suggestion in the Reveille of conflict in the mines occurred the same week The Engineering and Mining Journal warned of underground trouble. The Reveille cast Standard Oil as the villain in a headline that read:<sup>16</sup>

AN ATTEMPT TO SET  
FIRE TO THE RARUS

Standard Oil Thugs Caught Stealing Ore From  
Stope--On Being Ordered Out They Offer  
to Bribe Leasor Cassidy and Then  
Try to Burn the Mine.

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<sup>16</sup>Reveille, June 5, 1903, p. 5.

According to the Reveille:

Leasor James Cassidy was ordered out of a Rarus stope<sup>17</sup> by a group of miners who contended the area belonged to Amalgamated. One miner threatened to shoot Cassidy, who refused to leave the vein that the court had granted to Heinze. Cassidy turned a water hose on the Amalgamated miners, who stole the leasor's ore and set fire to the timbers in the stope. A major fire in the Rarus was averted by Cassidy's quick action in dousing the burning timbers with water. The miners were thugs acting on orders from William Scallon, and the Amalgamated manager should be held accountable for the criminal acts committed by his agents.<sup>18</sup>

Following that outburst of unsubstantiated accusations and innuendo, the Reveille made no reference to underground activities for two months. In the August 14 issue, though, the Reveille angrily accused Amalgamated "dynamitards" of "the heinous crime of wantonly destroying mining property" in the Minnie Healy:

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<sup>17</sup>Stope: A chamber or cavern created in a mine by the excavation of ore; drift: A horizontal tunnel or opening into a vein or ore deposit; crosscut: A horizontal tunnel or passageway connecting with a drift at a right angle; shaft: A hole dug vertically into the ground to provide entry to an ore deposit. See: Watson Davis, The Story of Copper (New York and London: The Century Co., 1924).

<sup>18</sup>Reveille, June 5, 1903, p. 5.

Now they have gone through the Leonard mine and into the Minnie Healy mine and exploded in the Healy stopes vast quantities of dynamite. They have caused wanton destruction of property of enormous value. Mr. E. H. Wilson, superintendent of the Healy mine, says he never saw such vandalism, and Mr. F. A. Heinze, after he had inspected the dynamited ground, declares that it is almost incredible that such infamy should be committed here in Butte by the Standard Oil agents.<sup>19</sup>

The article asserted the Amalgamated agents who touched off the dynamite should be classed with the worst type of anarchist. The Reveille offered no proof that Amalgamated was responsible for the destruction, though, or even suggested a motive for the act.

A week later, the Reveille editorially accused the Anaconda Standard of lying for stating Heinze would have to stop operations in the Healy; the Standard had argued all ore in the mine was under court orders. The editorial contended:

The dispute was over ore from the Leonard that apexed on Healy property, but Heinze was not mining the contested ore; he was only mining ore in the Healy, over which there was no dispute;

Amalgamated was angry because Heinze had opened up the Healy and put hundreds of men to work;

And the Supreme Court had declared Heinze's verbal contract with Miles Finlen valid, and although the case

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<sup>19</sup>Reveille, August 14, 1903, p. 4.

had been remanded to District Court, there was insufficient evidence for a new trial.<sup>20</sup>

The editorial concluded with this astonishing assertion:

The Minnie Healy case is now the same as if it had never appeared in court. And it stands thus: Finlen turned the mine over to Heinze for \$54,000. When it became valuable Finlen wanted to take it back. Then he offered to let Heinze keep it without litigation for \$140,000. Heinze's title to that mine is absolutely just.<sup>21</sup>

The casual dismissal of the Supreme Court's order for a new trial must have confused readers who recalled the Reveille's long article less than a month earlier, proclaiming the ruling a victory for Heinze. The article had hailed the Supreme Court's decision as a vindication of Judge Edward Harney's conduct in the Minnie Healy trial in 1901, and said the outcome proved the suit was another Amalgamated attempt to blackmail Heinze through the courts.<sup>22</sup>

The Reveille's account of underground conflict in the Minnie Healy demonstrates the paper's willingness to distort facts and confuse an issue to justify Heinze's industrial activities. The central facts in the Healy case were:

Following Judge Harney's ruling August, 1901, favoring Heinze, Finlen appealed to the Supreme Court.

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<sup>20</sup>Reveille, August 21, 1903, p. 4.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Reveille, July 28, 1903, p. 5.

In July, 1902, the Supreme Court enjoined Heinze from working the Minnie Healy mine. The Court denied a motion by Heinze for a rehearing. In April, 1903, Amalgamated appealed the case on Finlen's behalf to the Supreme Court. In July, 1903, the Supreme Court set aside Judge Harney's decision and remanded the case to the lower court. An Amalgamated motion for a change of venue was denied, and the case was sent to Judge William Clancy's division.<sup>23</sup>

The Reveille blithely ignored the facts in the Minnie Healy case, and for the next four months ignored the increasingly bitter struggle deep in the mines. The Reveille said nothing about Heinze's miners who were boring into rich veins in the Michael Davitt.

In early October, 1903, Amalgamated miners heard blasting in the Davitt. Amalgamated officials suspected Heinze was looting the Davitt, but they did not have access to the Rarus shaft to confirm their suspicions. On October 10, Amalgamated geologist Reno Sales and five other men slipped into the Rarus at the 600-foot level from the Boston company's Berkeley mine. The party followed a circuitous route around the vacant posts of two watchmen, and reached the area where Heinze's men were digging ore from the Davitt.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Raymer, Montana, pp. 488-89.

<sup>24</sup>Sales, Underground Warfare, pp. 30-32.

The information gained by Sales' party was presented to Federal Judge Hiram Knowles, who issued an order October 14 to permit further examination of the Davitt. On October 19 the Sales party tried to get into the Rarus, but was stopped by powder blasts set off by Heinze's miners. The Amalgamated inspectors finally were admitted to the Rarus shaft October 26. When Sales and his group reached the area in which they had first observed the illicit mining, they discovered the excavation had been filled with waste, and Heinze's men were driving crosscuts away from the Davitt, instead of toward the mine as originally observed.<sup>25</sup>

Amalgamated asked Judge Knowles for another court order to clean out and inspect the waste-filled excavations. Heinze ignored the order, however, and refused to admit the Amalgamated inspectors to the Rarus shaft. Contempt proceedings were filed against Heinze and his company. Heinze countered by accusing Judge Knowles of bias. The U. S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco sent Judge James H. Beatty of Idaho to Butte to hear the case.<sup>26</sup>

The day before the contempt proceedings opened, the Reveille broke its four-month silence on the underground dispute with a two-column headline on the front page:<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-36.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-37.

<sup>27</sup>Reveille, December 18, 1903, p. 1



COWARDLY OUTRAGE  
SEVERAL MEN INJURED

Amalgamated Tools Dynamite Stopes of the Rarus Mine From the  
"900" to the 1100-Foot Level--Miners Are Blown Up By the Ex-  
plosion of Several Boxes of Powder--Miraculous Escape From  
Death--Several Are Bruised and Powder-Burned--Acting  
Under Directions They Demolish a Vein, Which  
Has Been Decreed to F. A. Heinze By the  
Supreme Court, In Order to Prevent  
Him From Extracting Ore.

In the same issue, the Reveille censured the "Standard Oil Copper Trust" for endangering the lives of innocent miners. The editorial, entitled "Settling It By Dynamite," also accused the trust of defying Montana's laws and courts:

Relying upon the efficacy and constitutionality of the 'No Trial' bill, the Standard Oil Copper Trust has now begun to resort to its old methods of physical force and brutal outrage to destroy the property of its opponents.

Last Saturday night, the men who are crying aloud for justice in Montana deliberately exploded several tons of powder in the workings of the Rarus mine, injured many of the miners who miraculously escaped from death and demolished an immense body of ore which had been decreed to F. A. Heinze by the supreme court of Montana.

Hardly had the ink of the governor's signature been dry on the special legislation for the Copper Trust when the agents of that corporation demonstrated their defiance of the laws of Montana and of humanity, and committed what is characterized as one of the most dastardly outrages ever perpetrated against life and property in the mining history of this camp.<sup>28</sup>

The next day Judge Beatty fined Heinze \$2,000 for refusing to obey Judge Knowles' order. Two of Heinze's employes, Alfred Frank and Josiah H. Trerise, also were found guilty of contempt of court and fined \$500 each.

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

Judge Beatty suspended the sentences until December 24, provided the defendants appear at the Rarus shaft and admit the Amalgamated inspectors to the mine, as directed by Judge Knowles' earlier order.<sup>29</sup>

On December 24, the Sales inspection party was admitted by Heinze to the Rarus mine. The Amalgamated officials were surprised, however, when they inspected the disputed workings. Heinze again had outmaneuvered his opponents. He had boldly extended main drifts at three levels of the Rarus into the Davitt claim. Cement bulkheads had been put in the original crosscuts to give the appearance of solid rock. Excavations had been filled with waste rock to prevent the inspectors from determining the extent of the secret drifts or the amount of ore removed by Heinze's men.<sup>30</sup>

Even as his miners were furiously hauling ore from the Davitt, Heinze's lawyers were fighting Judge Beatty's contempt ruling. Heinze won a temporary reprieve. The Reveille announced the court action in a banner headline:<sup>31</sup>

U. S. COURT OF SAN FRANCISCO STAYS JUDGE BEATTY'S ORDER

The Reveille reported the U. S. Court of Appeals had granted a writ of supersedeas that delayed the contempt

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<sup>29</sup>C. P. Connolly, "The Fight of the Copper Kings," McClure's Magazine, June, 1907, p. 225.

<sup>30</sup>Sales, Underground Warfare, pp. 37-39.

<sup>31</sup>Reveille, January 1, 1904, p. 1.

proceedings against Heinze. The action allowed the defendants until February 8 to show cause why the contempt order should be set aside.<sup>32</sup>

In reporting the court action, though, the Reveille drew several sweeping conclusions, again demonstrating its willingness to distort and slant the news in Heinze's interest. The paper contended:

The original court order from Judge Knowles was annulled and Judge Beatty's contempt citation against Heinze and his two employees was "virtually reversed;"

Amalgamated had no right to inspect the Rarus mine, no Amalgamated properties were being destroyed and nobody could be held in contempt of court for keeping Amalgamated inspectors out of the mine;

And the court said there was no looting going on, despite charges in the Amalgamated newspapers that Heinze was stealing \$50,000 worth of ore a week from the Davitt.<sup>33</sup>

In an editorial entitled "Newspaper Looting," the Reveille rebuked the "Standard Oil newspapers" for carrying wild stories that Heinze was looting the Michael Davitt of \$52,500 worth of ore a week and hauling it to the surface through the Rarus shaft. The paper dismissed the stories as "balderdash" and remarked:

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

It is easy for the Copper Trust to fill the pages of its Montana newspapers with unsupported charges of ore stealing, but it is not so easy to convince the United States court, composed of men who take nothing into consideration but the law and the facts, that there is any foundation for such charges.

One of the peculiar features of this case, however, is that if Heinze or any of his agents were taking ore from the ground under the Michael Davitt, he would be taking simply what belongs to the Rarus property. Two federal juries have so decided, one sitting in Butte and one in Helena, and it will take much more than the testimony of the engineers and editors employed by the Standard Oil Copper Trust to make the citizens of Montana believe the contrary.<sup>34</sup>

Again, the Reveille told only part of the story, omitting the central fact in the Davitt dispute—that after the two jury trials, Heinze and the Boston company had been enjoined from working the contested area in the Davitt mine. Neither side was happy with the court-imposed restraints, though, and as The Engineering and Mining Journal had warned in June, someone did get hurt in the underground conflict.

On the night of January 1, 1904, Samuel Olsen and Fred Divel were killed by an explosion in the Pennsylvania mine. The two miners were building a heavy, airtight door in a crosscut that linked the Pennsylvania with the Rarus mine. The crosscut was being sealed to block foul-smelling smoke that had been directed into the Pennsylvania by Rarus miners. Divel and Olsen were killed when miners in the Rarus exploded a box of dynamite, and the force of the blast ripped the heavy door from its hinges, crushing the two men.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>Sales, Underground Warfare, pp. 42-43.

The Reveille announced the deaths in this three-column front-page headline:<sup>36</sup>

TWO LIVES WANTONLY SACRIFICED  
TO CARRY OUT VILLAINOUS DESIGNS

In the Reveille's view, the two miners were innocent victims of Amalgamated's policy of "wholesale dynamiting" in the Rarus mine. The paper branded as lies the "muzzled newspapers'" stories and editorials blaming Rarus miners for the deaths and maintained "there is no other explanation of the deaths of these two innocent men than that they were killed by that villainy which has made the Standard Oil company loathed from one end of this republic to the other."<sup>37</sup>

The Reveille may have been concerned over the deaths of Divel and Olsen (and it certainly tried to shift the blame for their deaths to Amalgamated), but it was equally concerned over the latest legal maneuvers in Heinze's contempt proceeding. In another front-page story, the paper reported an Amalgamated motion had been denied by the Appeals Court in San Francisco. The motion would have set aside the writ of supersedeas granted Heinze earlier. The Reveille proclaimed the legal ruling was a major victory for Heinze; the paper again interpreted the court action as exonerating Heinze's activities in the underground dispute.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Reveille, January 8, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

As the legal maneuvering continued, both sides ignored court orders and bored into disputed ore deposits. The fight escalated. Miners shoved dynamite blasting caps with short fuses into small tin cans, and tossed the home-made grenades at their opponents. Others squirted their "enemies" with high pressure fire hoses, while their comrades battled with powdered lime that was forced through one-inch pipes by compressed air. A common tactic was to burn old leather boots, or rubber, and let favorable air currents carry the foul smoke to an antagonist's area.<sup>39</sup>

The underground fighting also continued in the Minnie Healy. Judge Clancy had ruled October 22, 1903, that Heinze had title to the Healy. Work resumed in the big mine, but Heinze was soon back in court, arguing ore in the neighboring Leonard mine apexed on Healy ground. Judge Clancy enjoined both sides from working the disputed area. Before long it became apparent Heinze was violating the injunction, and fighting broke out between miners on both sides for control of rich ore deposits.<sup>40</sup>

For almost two months, nothing appeared in the Reveille about the underground fighting or legal contests. In the March 11 issue, though, the paper reported three Amalgamated miners had been arrested for exploding a large amount of dynamite in the Rarus mine, endangering the lives

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<sup>39</sup>Sales, Underground Warfare, pp. 56-58.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 59-62.

of Heinze's miners. The one-column headline above the story proclaimed:<sup>41</sup>

WANTON OUTRAGE  
IN RARUS MINE

In a disjointed editorial entitled "Dynamiting Again," the Reveille castigated the Amalgamated press for its campaign to blame Heinze's miners for the deaths of Divel and Olsen in the Pennsylvania mine in January. The paper also contended the three miners captured in the Rarus were carrying explosives used exclusively in the Pennsylvania mine, proving Amalgamated was responsible for the illegal use of dynamite. (The editorial did not explain the connection between the deaths of Divel and Olsen in January, and the incident in the Rarus in March.) The editorial went on to accuse Amalgamated of using Standard Oil tactics in the mines:

It is the old Standard Oil method used so often in the oil regions. What they could not get by strategy, they got by force. When they couldn't buy a refinery they burned it. When they can't steal Heinze's ore they destroy it by dynamite.<sup>42</sup>

Both sides resorted to illegal tactics underground. Heinze had filled excavations with waste rock, sealed off secret crosscuts and bored new drifts to hide evidence of his looting in Amalgamated property. Amalgamated retaliated by destroying disputed areas awarded to Heinze by

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<sup>41</sup>Reveille, March 11, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

Judge Clancy; stopes were caved in, machinery wrecked, crosscuts filled with rocks. At times opponents were mining side by side, fighting over the same ore deposit.<sup>43</sup>

Heinze was getting the better of his opponent in the Leonard mine. Amalgamated devised a new tactic to halt Heinze's operations in the adjacent Minnie Healy. A cross-cut was driven from the Leonard to the shaft of the Healy. A 6-inch pipe was run through the tunnel, which broke through the wall of the Healy shaft at the 900-foot level. Leonard miners connected the pipe to their high pressure water system, opened a valve, and water gushed into the Healy shaft.<sup>44</sup>

The Reveille was outraged. A banner headline declared:<sup>45</sup>

COPPER TRUST AGENTS ATTEMPT TO BLOW UP HEALY SHAFT

The Reveille's story ignored the fact that water had been piped into the Healy shaft and emphasized the danger posed to Heinze's miners by Amalgamated blasting in the adjacent Leonard mine. According to the paper:

The superintendent of the Leonard had warned Heinze's company his men would be blasting at the 900 and 1100-foot levels, and the Healy shaft could be destroyed. The cages in the Healy shaft had been hauled to the surface before the blasting, but many men were trapped underground. At

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<sup>43</sup>Joralemon, Romantic Copper, pp. 103-105.

<sup>44</sup>Sales, Underground Warfare, pp. 73-74.

<sup>45</sup>Reveille, March 28, 1904, p. 1.



least 1,000 persons—including wives and children of the trapped Healy miners—rushed to the scene, and word of the mishap caused great excitement in Butte. The state mine inspector was informed by telephone of the incident, but told Healy officials the Leonard miners were blasting on their own ground and could not be restrained, so long as they gave the usual warning and took precautions to protect human life.<sup>46</sup>

The Reveille also carried a short story on the front page that gave a different account of the Healy incident. According to the story, which the Reveille said the "muzzled newspapers" had sent to the Associated Press, no damage was caused by blasting in the 1000-foot level of the Leonard, although wild rumors had spread about the destruction of the Healy shaft. No lives were endangered, the story explained, when Leonard miners drilled holes into the shell of the Healy mine to return water that allegedly came from Heinze's mine several days earlier.<sup>47</sup>

Neither account was correct. Water had been pumped into the Healy, but Amalgamated had not attempted to blow up the shaft. After the Leonard superintendent had warned Heinze's officials to hoist the cages and remove miners from the danger area, the Healy whistle sounded the danger signal. Families and off-shift miners rushed to the Healy

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

entrance. Rumors spread that Amalgamated had flooded the Healy shaft and that scores of Heinze's miners had been drowned. Some miners in the crowd angrily talked about lynching the men responsible for the disaster. Wallace Corbett, foreman of the Leonard, grabbed a rifle and ran to Heinze's mine office. He ordered Heinze's superintendents to tell the distraught throng the truth. Heinze's officials complied, and when told the Healy shaft had been flooded, but the miners had been warned and were unhurt, the crowd broke up and people drifted back to their homes.<sup>48</sup>

The Healy incident had been too much, even for tough miners who were accustomed to the dangers of their underground occupation. The next morning representatives from Amalgamated and Heinze's company met in the Silver Bow Club in Butte to declare a truce in the underground fighting.<sup>49</sup>

Federal Judge James H. Beatty had the last word in the underground dispute. On March 30, he fined Heinze \$20,000 and Trerise and Frank \$1,000 each for violating earlier orders from Judge Knowles. He also warned the defendants he would impose the maximum fine and jail sentence if there were further violations of court orders. Judge Beatty rejected Heinze's contention that the Johnstown company, to which Heinze had transferred title to disputed ore

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<sup>48</sup>Connolly, "Fight of the Copper Kings," p. 228.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

bodies, was not subject to the court orders. The judge ruled the Johnstown firm and the Montana Ore Purchasing company had identical interests and were under Heinze's direct control. Heinze and his superintendents paid their fines the next day. Despite the court's tongue lashing and fine, Heinze emerged the financial victor in the underground warfare. Court testimony revealed Heinze had hauled more than \$1 million worth of ore from the Michael Davitt—a handsome return on the \$20,000 "investment" he paid in court.<sup>50</sup>

The Reveille made only an oblique reference to the outcome of the contempt proceedings against Heinze. Without revealing Heinze had been found guilty and fined for violating court orders, the paper said the "muzzled press" had ignored Amalgamated schemes to prevent Heinze's inspectors from surveying its court-enjoined ore bodies. The Reveille contended the "Copper Trust" had virtually free access to Heinze's mines but had vigorously opposed any attempts by Heinze to inspect Amalgamated properties.<sup>51</sup>

The final reference to the outcome of the underground battle appeared in the April 11 issue of the Reveille. This time the paper acknowledged Heinze had been fined:

As the Amalgamated controls the Associated Press service in Montana most of the newspapers of the east

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., pp. 226-27.

<sup>51</sup>Reveille, April 4, 1904, p. 2.

were anxious to get the facts about the \$20,000 conditional fine imposed upon F. A. Heinze by Federal Judge Beatty. The following statement of the facts by P. A. O'Farrell first appeared in the New York Sun and later in other prominent eastern newspapers:<sup>52</sup>

O'Farrell's statement recounted the history of the Michael Davitt litigation, beginning with the injunction obtained by the Boston companies to stop Heinze from following ore veins in his Rarus under the surface of the adjacent Michael Davitt. Judge Hiram Knowles, who granted the injunction, had been an organizer of the Butte & Boston company and later its attorney, according to O'Farrell, and was biased against Heinze. The judge had nullified two jury verdicts favoring Heinze, O'Farrell concluded, and the contempt proceedings resulted from Heinze's sale of Rarus property to the Johnstown company, which began mining the property idled by Judge Knowles.<sup>53</sup>

The Reveille's coverage of the bizarre underground struggle ended as it had begun—with distortions of fact and suppression of important events. The Reveille often was guilty of the tactics used by the "muzzled press." The paper defended Heinze's underground encroachments and outright looting of neighboring ore deposits by reminding readers of earlier favorable judicial rulings, but ignoring adverse appellate decisions. Long periods of silence were common, even as Heinze's miners were boring into disputed

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<sup>52</sup>Reveille, April 11, 1904, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

ore bodies and fighting Amalgamated's forces. Editorials reiterated a familiar theme: Heinze was a victim of violent, illegal tactics of the "Standard Oil Copper Trust," which destroyed his property and endangered the lives of his miners.

The Reveille may not have been a journal of enlightenment, but it certainly was an effective irritant, at least in the opinion of one Amalgamated official. Geologist Reno Sales later said of the weekly paper:

The Reveille was not published for the purpose of giving out news to the public. It was a daily [sic] smear sheet pure and simple. Its pages contained little else than criticism of the local officers of the Amalgamated Copper controlled Butte companies mixed with violent tirades against H. H. Rogers and Wm. Rockefeller as the 'Copper Trust' barons of New York.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Sales, Underground Warfare, p. 52.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CAMPAIGN ON THE HUSTINGS

The 1904 election in Montana was the final test of F. A. Heinze's ability to continue his fight for control of Butte's copper resources. The campaign was similar to the one preceding the 1900 election when William A. Clark wanted to elect a legislature that would send him to the U. S. Senate. In 1904 Heinze wanted to elect a legislature that would repeal the "Fair Trial" law. In both campaigns, a powerful individual sought to exploit the electoral process for personal gain--political gain for Clark, economic gain for Heinze.

The tenor of the 1904 campaign was set by a Reveille editorial entitled "The Anti-Trust Party.":

From every corner of the state reports reach us that the Anti-Trust movement has gathered an impetus and force that is as irresistible as fate. The people see both the old parties in the clutches of the Standard Oil, and therefore they have no use for either. They know the evils and dangers by which the state is threatened and assailed. They see a reptile press teeming with falsehood and calumny against every man who will not bend the knee to Rockefeller. They have seen in legislature after legislature a saturnalia of political debauchery and corruption, brought about by the agents of the Amalgamated Copper company.

They saw last winter this Standard Oil Trust shut down every mine and smelter that they controlled in Montana in order to force Governor Toole to call an extra session of the legislature.

The shut-down was to force Governor Toole's hand, and it did. He yielded to the coercion and he called a special session in order that Standard Oil legislation might be put on the statute book by a corrupt and debauched legislature. A Fair Trial Bill, forsooth! There never was such mockery of legislation as that fool bill which the reptile press booms as a Fair Trial Bill.<sup>1</sup>

The editorial also contended:

The legislature that convened in Helena in 1905 would be made up of independent men elected in a statewide sweep of the Anti-Trust party;

The new lawmakers would repeal the acts of the previous legislature;

And the Anti-Trust movement would succeed because the people were learning the major parties had deceived them in the interest of giant corporations.<sup>2</sup>

The Reveille outlined the campaign in the familiar terms of the people rallying to a grass roots movement, combating corporate control of regular political parties and intimidation of public institutions. A new element was added to the paper's rhetoric, though--the need to repeal the "Fair Trial" law.

The Amalgamated priorities for the 1904 election included the re-election of Supreme Court Justice Theodore Brantly and Governor Joseph K. Toole; the company supported "satisfactory" candidates for the District Court in Silver

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<sup>1</sup>Reveille, April 18, 1904, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Bow County. Recognizing Theodore Roosevelt's popularity in Montana, Amalgamated backed the Republican presidential ticket, while urging re-election of the Democratic governor.<sup>3</sup>

The 1904 political campaign was a long one. On May 30, the Reveille announced in a banner headline:

ANTI-TRUST CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN OPENED

The paper said state chairman W. B. George of Billings and state secretary H. F. Collins of Anaconda had dedicated the new Anti-Trust state headquarters in Butte. The paper also printed the Anti-Trust party's emblem and position statement.<sup>5</sup>

The Amalgamated press began its campaign to discredit Heinze, circulating stories that he was prepared to sell out to Amalgamated. The Reveille dismissed the sellout stories and accused the Anaconda Standard, Butte Miner and Butte Inter Mountain of conspiring with Standard Oil to drive Heinze from Montana:

No sophistry of a mercenary press can hide plain fact or controvert history written in black and white. When the muzzled newspapers tell you that the Standard Oil will change its ways and, having full sway in Montana, will not repeat its infamous history, stop and ask yourself this question: Would you choose a deadly rattlesnake as a playmate for your prattling child because a snake-charmer told you the reptile liked babies?<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Jerre C. Murphy, The Comical History of Montana (San Diego, California: E. L. Scofield, Publisher, 1912), pp. 136-37.

<sup>4</sup>Reveille, May 30, 1904, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 4.



Heinze's political strategy was based on a personal crusade against Standard Oil. The Reveille cleverly translated a vague corporate threat into personal dangers; the "Standard Oil copper trust" personified a malevolent, pervasive force that touched every individual. The Reveille portrayed Heinze as a protector of personal liberties and economic well-being:

Picture what the elimination of Heinze from the Montana field would mean. First and foremost it means the reduction of wages from \$3.50 to \$2.50 a day. . . .

It means the annihilation of organized labor, it must be remembered that, except in the Amalgamated, union labor is not tolerated in all the Standard Oil holdings.

It means the passing of the independent merchant, for within a few years the company stores would corral the mercantile business of the state. . . .

It means a paralysis of the entire independent industrial life of the state, for every profession, every trade, every vocation is interdependent, and experience teaches us that a monopoly affects even the humblest calling. . . .

It is needless to picture what it means to the political life of the state. Montana has abundant example of corporate politics. It would mean that the very constitution of the state would be amended to suit the interests of the trust. . . . The independent citizenship would soon disappear and Standard Oil serfs would fill their places.<sup>7</sup>

The Reveille single-mindedly attacked Standard Oil and forecast dire consequences should the people desert Heinze in his crusade against the trust. The paper cast the "Standard Oil copper trust" as the devil incarnate; it offered Heinze as the Saint Michael who would drive the Standard Oil Lucifer from Montana.

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

Another factor aided the Reveille in its crusade against Standard Oil: The American public had become conscious of the trust issue, of the dangers of centralized economic power. Low cost, mass-circulation magazines, led by McClure's, had initiated a reform movement derisively labeled "muckraking" by Theodore Roosevelt. The crusading muckrakers exposed the corruption and injustices of big business as well as state and local government. Ida M. Tarbell documented the ruthless methods of the Standard Oil Company in a series of articles in McClure's.<sup>8</sup>

The Reveille reprinted Miss Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company" and frequently drew parallels between the unscrupulous tactics of Standard Oil and unfair practices of Amalgamated. The paper viewed Amalgamated as a Standard Oil creation.

Wall Street financier Thomas Lawson, who immodestly claimed credit for planning a copper trust, clearly understood Standard Oil's impact on the public psyche. According to Lawson:

It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that the monster "Standard Oil" loomed up before the people as the giant of all corporate things and that its ominous shadow seemed to dwarf all other institutions, public or private. In multitudinous forms it was before the people.

In awed whispers men talked of its mysterious doings and canvassed its extraordinary powers as though

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<sup>8</sup> Edwin Emery, The Press and America (2nd ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), pp. 473-76.

"Standard Oil" were a living, breathing entity rather than a mere business institution created by men and existing only by virtue of the laws of the land.<sup>9</sup>

The link between Standard Oil and Amalgamated had been solidly forged. Lawson not only boasted of originating the copper combine, he readily acknowledged Amalgamated was a Standard Oil offspring "because its birthplace was the National City Bank of New York (the 'Standard Oil' bank), and its parents the leading 'Standard Oil' lights, Henry H. Rogers, William Rockefeller, and James Stillman."<sup>10</sup>

The Reveille's caricature of Amalgamated as a trust formed to corner the copper market had basis in fact. According to one writer, there had been three attempts to control the copper market: First, by the Associated Smelters of Swansea, Wales, beginning in 1840; second, by M. Secretan and a group of French financiers, starting in 1887; third, initiated in 1899 by the Amalgamated Copper company, "avowedly formed with the intention of controlling, first the American, and, later, the world's copper trade."<sup>11</sup>

Heinze had seemingly contradictory goals by spring, 1904. He backed the Anti-Trust party, which provided

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<sup>9</sup>Thomas W. Lawson, Frenzied Finance, Vol. I: The Crime of Amalgamated (New York: The Ridgeway-Thayer Company, 1905), p. 35.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Horace J. Stevens, compiler, The Copper Handbook (Houghton, Mich.: By the Author, 1908), pp. 19-20.

the machinery for a state-wide political campaign. He started a daily newspaper, the Butte Evening News, to compete with the Amalgamated dailies. (The Reveille began reprinting editorials and news stories from the Evening News, after the paper was founded March 1, 1904.) Heinze also went to New York, if not to negotiate a sale of his properties to Amalgamated, at least to arrange a truce in their industrial dispute.

The Amalgamated papers contended Heinze was trying to sell his Butte interests. The Reveille denied the stories. In the June 6 issue of the Reveille, however, P. A. O'Farrell remarked in a story with a New York dateline, that he had seen John R. Toole, John D. Ryan, A. J. Campbell and A. J. Shores--all Amalgamated officials--at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel. O'Farrell insisted the Butte men were receiving instructions from Standard Oil on how to influence Montana politics.<sup>12</sup>

Two weeks later the Reveille reprinted a story it said had been carried in the Wall Street Journal and other eastern papers, indicating negotiations between Heinze and Amalgamated had been called off. The Reveille also carried a statement issued by Heinze's company, denying there had been any change in the industrial fight, or that important issues had been settled.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Reveille, June 6, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup>Reveille, June 20, 1904, p. 8.

That story, and O'Farrell's remarks two weeks earlier, suggest efforts were under way in New York to end the copper warfare. It also is possible O'Farrell was in New York to advise Heinze during negotiations.

The Engineering and Mining Journal reported persistent rumors were circulating in Butte that Amalgamated would absorb Heinze's properties. According to the Mining Journal:

Ben B. Thayer had visited Butte recently representing H. H. Rogers, and had inspected certain Heinze properties;

Hostilities between the Heinze and Amalgamated concerns apparently had been called off, at least temporarily;

And Heinze had been in New York for several weeks, accompanied by his chief counsel, Judge John McHatton.<sup>14</sup>

Heinze returned to Butte in early July. The Reveille observed the youthful industrialist looked five years younger than he did two months earlier before his trip to the east. The paper also carried a statement by Heinze expressing surprise at the credence given the "sell-out" story circulated by the Butte Miner. Heinze denied he planned to sell his property, although he acknowledged:

It is a fact that during my sojourn in New York there were a large number of people who called upon me and made overtures, at one time or another, to ascertain at what figure I would sell my properties, sometimes claiming more and sometimes less authority from parties highly connected with the Amalgamated company.

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<sup>14</sup>"Special Correspondence," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXVII (June 30, 1904), p. 1055.

Whether these were authorized or not to an extent I am in no position to state, but I do know they were not seriously considered.<sup>15</sup>

If Heinze had been in New York to sell his Butte enterprise, he had been shrewd enough to have a contingency plan should negotiations fail. That plan evidently included an intensive political campaign. Throughout July and August the Reveille editorialized in favor of the Anti-Trust party. O'Farrell sounded out political feelings in Montana. In a story with a Billings dateline, he said people in rural areas opposed Standard Oil domination of the state, wanted no part of the corrupt elements that controlled both old parties and supported the anti-trust movement. O'Farrell concluded: "The more I travel over the state and the more people I see, the more firmly I am convinced of the advisability of nominating a full Anti-Trust ticket in every county of the state."<sup>16</sup>

O'Farrell's view of anti-trust strength was overly optimistic, though. Meeting in Helena, the state executive committees of the Anti-Trust Democratic and Anti-Trust Republican parties decided to endorse their respective regular party tickets, since the nominees were considered sufficiently free from Standard Oil influence. The two anti-trust executive committees also decided not to hold state

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<sup>15</sup>Reveille, July 11, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup>Reveille, August 29, 1904, p. 8.

conventions.<sup>17</sup> The decision not to field a third party was the first indication the anti-trust movement had failed to excite state-wide interest.

In the September 30 issue of the Reveille, O'Farrell reviewed Montana's political activities over the past year. According to O'Farrell:

The Amalgamated shutdown the previous fall was planned by H. H. Rogers to intimidate the governor and the Supreme Court, and to manipulate the stock market;

Governor Toole had made a mistake in calling a special session of the legislature, but should not be defeated for the one great error of his public life;

The anti-trust movement was restricted to state issues; anti-trust members were free to support the party of their choice on national questions;

The national tickets offered little choice: Roosevelt was a trust-buster, but many of his appointees were Standard Oil allies; Parker had been removed from politics during his tenure on the Supreme Court, and did not realize many of his advisers were under Standard Oil influence;

And the great issue facing the voters was the struggle to preserve America from plutocracy.<sup>18</sup>

O'Farrell concluded by declaring the Democratic party in Montana had been freed from Standard Oil control,

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<sup>17</sup>Reveille, September 23, 1904, pp. 5-6.

<sup>18</sup>Reveille, September 30, 1904, pp. 1, 8.

Heinze endorsed the full state Democratic ticket and Joe Toole would lead the party to victory.<sup>19</sup>

O'Farrell's buoyant appraisal of political unity again was rudely deflated. In the same issue, the Reveille reported the two factions in the Silver Bow County Democratic party held separate conventions. The paper made little effort to disguise its partisanship and offered this improbable version of Heinze's "innocent" participation in the gathering of the "regular" Democrats:

Enthusiastic applause greeted F. A. Heinze when it was discovered he was standing by the door in the back of the hall. There were shouts of "Heinze! Heinze!" The convention demanded his appearance on the platform and he spoke briefly. . . .<sup>20</sup>

The Reveille's bias also was clear in its lead on the story of the other faction's convention:

Kerosene democrats, representing the men who are attempting to deliver a so-called democratic party into the hands of the Amalgamated Copper company and the Rockefeller interests, gathered in convention today.

Unlike Monday's convention of the republicans, the convention today was absolutely canned and hermetically sealed by John D. Ryan and Dan Hennessy.

Roll call was hurried through and showed all the Amalgamated hirelings present. . . .<sup>21</sup>

The Butte Miner and Anaconda Standard led the attack of the Amalgamated forces in the 1904 campaign. The Miner repeatedly accused Heinze of ignoring the needs of Montana residents, using politics to improve his economic

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 2.



situation and planning to sell out to Amalgamated after the election. In the Miner's view, the fusion of five parties in Silver Bow County was a Heinze scheme to confuse the voters.<sup>22</sup>

Although he proclaimed allegiance to the Democratic party, Heinze needed a broader political base to retain control of Silver Bow County. The fusion of the Populist, Labor, Democratic, Anti-Trust Democratic and Anti-Trust Republican parties provided Heinze that broad spectrum of support. The five parties divided the offices on the ballot, and after delicate and at times stormy negotiations, apportioned a certain number of positions to each party in the coalition. After fusion was effected, the Populist ticket comprised the nominees of the five parties.<sup>23</sup>

The Standard described the five political conventions in Silver Bow County as an effort to cash in on Heinze's political promises. The paper declared Heinze "politically bankrupt."<sup>24</sup>

Despite the pronouncements of the Amalgamated press, Heinze was politically solvent. He rewarded the party faithful and punished those who were disloyal. Butte's mayor, Pat Mullins, was an early casualty in the campaign. In a front-page story in the Reveille, O'Farrell recounted the

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<sup>22</sup>Butte Miner, October 2, 1904, p. 4.

<sup>23</sup>Butte Evening News, October 1, 1904, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>24</sup>Anaconda Standard, October 1, 1904, p. 1.

rise and fall of Mullins—and he also revealed the extent of Heinze's influence in Butte politics. According to O'Farrell:

He had urged Heinze to befriend Mullins, who had lost his savings speculating on Standard Oil stock and had been bilked of his interest in the Commanche mine;

Heinze lent Mullins \$16,000 and agreed to file suit against the Boston & Montana company for 10 per cent of the settlement;

Mullins was elected to the legislature with Heinze's backing and later was elected mayor of Butte;

Mullins refused to accept advice from Heinze on city matters, though, and he took the Commanche suit out of Heinze's hands to negotiate an out-of-court settlement with William Scallon;

And Mullins was duped and humiliated by Standard Oil agents.<sup>25</sup>

In his attack on Mullins, O'Farrell again revealed himself as a political adviser to Heinze. The story also illustrates Heinze's use of men like Mullins as political tools who were offered financial assistance, elected to office, and expected to repay the favor by working for Heinze's interests.

In the same issue, the Reveille denied accusations in the Amalgamated press that Judge William Clancy had been

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<sup>25</sup>Reveille, October 7, 1904, p. 1.

dumped by the fusion forces. According to the paper:

Judge Clancy had said he would not accept renomination to the District Court bench, because he wanted to end his career as chief justice in the state;

The fusion forces were prepared to endorse Clancy for chief justice, but the Democratic convention nominated Judge D. F. Smith;

Smith was considered immune from Standard Oil influence and was endorsed by the fusion parties;

Clancy was not nominated for the high court on a third party ticket for fear of splitting the vote and returning the Republican nominee, Theodore Brantly, to the bench;

Meantime, the fusionists nominated Peter Breen and Louis Forrestell for the District Court, thinking Clancy was no longer interested in the position.<sup>26</sup>

With passage of a change-of-venue law, the District Court judge was no longer as important to Heinze as a Supreme Court justice; therefore, Clancy's ambitions were repressed by Heinze's need to support the strongest nominee for the high court. Clancy was expendable; Mullins had become a threat to Heinze, however, and was vilified and ridiculed by the Reveille.

Heinze energetically sought support for the anti-trust movement. In a speech to 3,000 persons at the Broadway Theater in Butte, Heinze eloquently pledged to fight

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

the "copper trust" so long as the people supported him. He followed his familiar pattern of attacking the "kerosene press," recounting Standard Oil efforts to buy him out and defining the issues of the campaign in personal terms that affected the pocketbooks of the voters. To demonstrate his commitment to the cause, Heinze announced plans to develop a new mining property that would employ 400 men.<sup>27</sup>

The Standard described the speech as the opening of the Heinze campaign and labeled it a rehash of Heinze's earlier political speeches. The only improvement was the music before the talk, the Standard observed.<sup>28</sup>

On October 18, the Evening News announced Heinze was beginning a state tour, and would speak in 13 cities in support of the Democratic ticket.<sup>29</sup>

The Standard scoffed at Heinze's speaking tour:

Mr. Heinze's silly parade of himself as the "defender" of the people of Montana has degenerated to a point where, presently, he will be a laughing stock; it doesn't occur to the mind of any intelligent citizen that he is in any need whatever of Mr. Heinze's proffered protection.<sup>30</sup>

The Evening News covered each of Heinze's speeches;

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<sup>27</sup>Reveille, October 17, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup>Anaconda Standard, October 16, 1904, Part II, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup>Butte Evening News, October 18, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup>Anaconda Standard, October 18, 1904, p. 6.

the stories were played on the front page. The paper reported Heinze received a warm reception in Livingston, and spoke to an enthusiastic audience in Bozeman.<sup>31</sup>

On the evening of October 22, Heinze spoke to 5,000 persons from the balcony of the Butte Hotel. According to the Reveille:

Amalgamated tried to break up the outdoor gathering by running streetcars through the crowd;

The clanging bells and noise from the cars made it difficult to hear the speaker;

Heinze was irritated by the interruptions, and threatened several times to stop speaking, but the crowd urged him to continue;

At Heinze's suggestion, several men in the audience ended the interference by cutting a rope and taking a trolley off the track.<sup>32</sup>

The Standard used the incident to denounce Heinze as an uncouth rabble rouser; a front-page headline exclaimed:<sup>33</sup>

HEINZE BREAKS  
OUT IN CURSES

They Fall on the Ears of A  
Shocked Multitude  
In Butte

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<sup>31</sup>Butte Evening News, October 19-22, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup>Reveille, October 24, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup>Anacorda Standard, October 23, 1904, p. 1.

The Standard said Heinze had "displayed himself foul-mouthed and profane, sore and disgusting" and had urged the crowd to violence when the streetcars interfered with his harangue. The paper said a riot was averted only because the railway officials ordered streetcars to avoid the area, and the street in front of the Butte Hotel on East Broadway was turned over to Heinze.<sup>34</sup>

The next day Heinze resumed his state speaking tour, addressing crowds in Townsend, Helena, Great Falls and Missoula. The Evening News continued to give the speeches front-page coverage, supplemented by cartoons lampooning Heinze's political foes.<sup>35</sup>

The Reveille also carried reports of Heinze's tour and usually reprinted his speeches. The Heinze entourage traveled by private rail car. Although he was not a candidate, Heinze was welcomed at the depot by local dignitaries and escorted to his speaking engagement by a marching band. Heinze shared the platform with local Democratic candidates; a quartet opened the program with campaign songs, such as "Down the Kerosene," a ditty set to the tune of "Wearing of the Green." Following the entertainment, Heinze was introduced to the audience. He began by discussing the local political situation familiar to his listeners; he also denounced the "muzzled press," denied

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Butte Evening News, October 25-29, 1904, p. 1.

the "sell-out lie," reviewed the trust issue and warned of Amalgamated schemes to subvert Montana's public institutions and private enterprises.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout his state tour, Heinze acted the part of a candidate. He greeted people, shook hands, endorsed candidates, urged support of the state Democratic ticket and promised to continue his fight against Standard Oil domination in Montana.

The Amalgamated press accused Heinze of obscuring the main issue before the voters. The Miner said the issue was electing officials who could solve state and local problems; the paper criticized Heinze's involvement in the campaign:

Through a vile and disreputable press the Heinze outfit, for business reasons involved in the transfer of that individual's properties to the Amalgamated, is seeking in every possible way to deflect public attention from national problems and state issues.<sup>37</sup>

The Miner also asserted Amalgamated was not an issue, because the firm had retired from politics to devote itself strictly to industrial matters. The Standard echoed the Miner's contention that Heinze was clouding the issues of the campaign. The paper decried the speculation that Heinze was selling his mining interests and denied any Amalgamated source had circulated the sellout stories. The Standard encouraged the rumors, however, by commenting:

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<sup>36</sup>Reveille, October 28, 1904, pp. 7, 8.

<sup>37</sup>Butte Miner, October 26, 1904, p. 4.

"Nevertheless, after all is said and done, the Standard is inclined to believe that Mr. Heinze has not sold out, yet."<sup>38</sup>

By late October, the Amalgamated press had made Heinze the key issue of the campaign, even though he was not a candidate. Heinze's strategy had been to use his personal popularity and persuasive speaking style to build support for anti-trust candidates. The Amalgamated papers had created doubts about Heinze's sincerity, though, suggesting he was using politics for personal gain, and was preparing to sell out after the election.

According to one writer, Heinze was justified in entering the political arena:

It is little wonder that in an atmosphere so impregnated with political intrigue Mr. Heinze has found the hustings and the primaries essential adjuncts to the prosecution of his industrial enterprises. A man less versatile, who could not have adapted himself to extraordinary and irregular circumstances as they developed, would have surely failed, however great his purely business acumen.<sup>39</sup>

In one biographical sketch, Heinze's political activities were defended as a benefit to many rather than mere self-aggrandizement. The biography cited Heinze's advocacy of the eight-hour day for miners as a positive contribution and argued he could not "avoid being drawn into the vortex of politics, either to secure or prevent

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<sup>38</sup>Anaconda Standard, October 27, 1904, p. 6.

<sup>39</sup>William R. Stewart, "Captains of Industry: F. Augustus Heinze," The Cosmopolitan, January, 1904, p. 292.



policies and legislation affecting his interests and those of others who lean upon him."<sup>40</sup>

Heinze was a unique figure among Butte's businessmen and laborers. Well educated and urbane, he also enjoyed hard work and a stiff drink. A newspaperman who had covered Heinze's court cases described him as an imposing figure, with a clear, strong speaking voice; a man treated like a king by miners who delighted in his oratory and appreciated his generosity in the saloon.<sup>41</sup>

Another writer offered a more perceptive analysis of Heinze's personal magnetism. He said Heinze's power did not flow from his personality, but from his intellectual force, his ability to "arouse, to interest, to excite people, generally on the plea of humanity's interest." He said Heinze, through his public confidence in his ability to win, had "convinced thousands of good-thinking men that he is the victim, while all the while he has steadily gored Amalgamated through the sympathy of the masses."<sup>42</sup>

During his state campaign, Heinze appealed for public sympathy in his struggle against Amalgamated, promising to continue his fight on behalf of the common people in exchange for election of anti-trust candidates. He

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<sup>40</sup>Progressive Men of Montana (Chicago: A. W. Bowen & Co., 1902), p. 1683.

<sup>41</sup>Interview with E. G. Leipheimer, Flathead Lake, Montana, September 1, 1968.

<sup>42</sup>C. P. Connolly, "Heinze and Lawson, A Contrast," Donahoe's Magazine, January, 1905, pp. 62, 64.

also urged defeat of candidates who did not embrace the anti-trust cause. Frank Linderman, representative from Madison County, was marked by Heinze for defeat. Heinze told men at the mining camp of Rochester that Linderman had "sold out to the Amalgamated crowd." Linderman tried to challenge the allegation during a speech by Heinze at Twin Bridges, but was thrown out of the meeting. He said Heinze later apologized to him in Helena, saying he was drunk during his speech at Twin Bridges. Despite Heinze's opposition, Linderman was re-elected.<sup>43</sup>

By late October the campaign had become a contest between two sides over the public pledges and honor of an individual who was not a candidate for political office. A week before the election, Amalgamated fielded its own speakers, who accused Heinze of deceit and graft. The Standard reported C. F. Kelley (an Amalgamated attorney) had challenged Heinze publicly to deny he had tried to sell his property within the last 90 days. The paper taunted in a front-page headline:<sup>44</sup>

HOW ABOUT IT, MR. HEINZE?

The Reveille rushed to Heinze's defense with a banner headline that declared:<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Frank B. Linderman, Montana Adventure, ed. by H. G. Merriam (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), pp. 132-33.

<sup>44</sup>Anaconda Standard, October 30, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup>Reveille, October 31, 1904, p. 1.

CON KELLEY, STANDARD OIL ATTORNEY, ADVISES VOTERS WHAT TO DO

P. A. O'Farrell reproached Kelley for speaking out on the issues, belittled him as a "vassal and a hireling" and asserted "the fact that he is Rockefeller's hireling does not entitle him to urge the people of Montana to put Rockefeller's yoke around their necks." Appealing to the Irish voters, O'Farrell contended:

Kelley had been unfaithful to the memory of Marcus Daly, and a traitor to his Irish compatriots;

Heinze had refused to sell his properties, despite an offer from H. H. Rogers and advice from his friends;

Heinze had offered to arbitrate the lawsuits and end the legal warfare in Butte, but Amalgamated had responded with injunctions, destruction of property and a campaign to drive Heinze from the state;

And Kelley had raised a false issue in the campaign to divert attention from efforts of "the horde of plutocrats to destroy Montana's liberties and loot its treasures."<sup>46</sup>

While the Reveille warned of the dangers of plutocracy, the Evening News appealed to pragmatic self-interest. The paper declared Heinze was fighting to defend his property rights, but the workingman benefited from shorter work days and higher wages. The Evening News also exploited racial prejudice, suggesting that without Heinze, Amalgamated,

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 1, 2.

like Standard Oil enterprises in Colorado, "would today be employing Japs at a dollar a day. . . ."47

Kelley continued to challenge publicly Heinze's pledge to remain in Butte. The Standard reported Kelley had given the names of men involved in sale negotiations, including John W. Forbis, who was to have received 8 per cent of the purchase price for handling the sale of Heinze's properties.48

Heinze denied Kelley's accusation at a rally in South Butte, assuring the audience he had not sold out. Several anti-trust candidates spoke briefly, and a quartet entertained the crowd with spirited singing. In a rousing campaign speech, Heinze denounced Amalgamated domination in Montana, called for passage of a primary election law, initiative and referendum and appealed for election of candidates on the Populist ticket.49

The Reveille editorially impugned the Miner, accusing Senator Clark of letting his paper be used as a Standard Oil tool. A. B. Keith, the Miner's editor, was vilified as "the high priest of theosophy in Montana, the mouthpiece of Boddler Clark, and the most asinine scribe in an editorial chair of any newspaper. . . ."50

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47 Butte Evening News, October 31, 1904, p. 4.

48 Anaconda Standard, November 2, 1904, p. 1.

49 Reveille, November 4, 1904, pp. 1, 2, 3.

50 Ibid., p. 4.

The Miner pressed its attack on Heinze. It published on the front page what was described as a photographic copy of a letter, dated July 7, 1904, from J. W. Gates to H. H. Rogers. In the letter Gates stated the lowest price Heinze would accept for his property was \$8 million.<sup>51</sup>

The Standard printed the same letter, also on the front page, and said it proved Heinze had tried to sell out. The paper smugly remarked:

As everybody in Montana knows, the Standard has sought zealously throughout the campaign to hold public attention to the campaign's legitimate issues, Heinzeism not being, in a cardinal way, one of these. But Mr. Heinze has persistently forced himself upon the public's attention. He is a figure in the campaign in this, that while fresh-arrived from the scenes of his own negotiations to sell, he has sought to persuade the public to the monstrous proposition that his selling out would precipitate ruin upon Montana and that he, before God, never has tried to sell. Whether that cuts any ice or not with the people whom he has tried to hoodwink, the incontestable truth is that he sought diligently to sell.<sup>52</sup>

The day before the election a special morning edition of the Evening News proclaimed in a front-page headline:<sup>53</sup>

UNTERMYER NAILS THIS  
DASTARDLY STANDARD OIL LIE

The paper printed Gates' letter, declaring it a counterfeit, and reproduced a telegram from Samuel Untermyer to P. A. O'Farrell. In the wire, Untermyer denied a

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<sup>51</sup>Butte Miner, November 6, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>Anaconda Standard, November 6, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup>Butte Evening News, November 7, 1904, (morning edition), p. 1.

statement attributed to him in Gates' letter to Rogers, declaring Heinze's properties could be purchased for as little as \$6 million. The Evening News described Gates as an Amalgamated stock broker, Untermeyer as a widely known New York financier, and asked the rhetorical question: Who do you believe—one "of Rockefeller's vicious agents. . . ." or "a man in New York who is not in the pay of the Standard Oil. . . ."?<sup>54</sup>

The front page of the second edition of the Evening News the same day was devoted to the election. It included a sample ballot of the People's party and instructions on how to vote. A cartoon advised readers to vote in the People's party column if they wanted to vote against the Standard Oil. The balance of the page contained excerpts of Heinze's positions on local issues.<sup>55</sup>

The election-eve edition of the Reveille was filled with laudatory biographical sketches of candidates endorsed by the People's party (including Governor Toole), the text of Heinze's final campaign speech and stories of political rallies. It also reiterated the charges of Amalgamated perfidy, and appealed to voters to support anti-trust candidates who would oppose plutocracy and maintain high wages and prosperity. In a final bid for ethnic votes, O'Farrell accused Amalgamated officials John Ryan and C. F. Kelley of

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Butte Evening News, November 7, 1904, (evening edition), p. 1.

betraying their Irish kinsmen. Of himself, O'Farrell said:

Now, I will take Con Kelley into my confidence and tell him that there is no traitor blood in my veins. Thirty-seven years ago I stood beside the open grave of my grandfather in Cork county, Ireland, and I saw his relics placed in that grave. My father's ashes are in that same place and so are the ashes of generations of my sires. I never knew or heard that scandal slept there.<sup>56</sup>

The Reveille had defined the campaign issue as the people versus plutocracy. On election day, the Miner declared:

The fight today is between the democracy and Heinzeism; it is between these two that the voter must make his choice.

It is a question of decency and good citizenship versus the hoodlums, the maudlin wretches, the salaried thugs, the repeaters and penitentiary birds which Heinzeism represents.<sup>57</sup>

In an atmosphere rife with accusations of deceit, treachery, improbity and treason, the voters went to the polls in an election that had been fought primarily over a man whose name did not appear on the ballot. The election results were disputed as vigorously as the campaign issues.

The Miner filled most of its front page following the election with news of the national Republican landslide; a three-column headline near the bottom of the page declared:<sup>58</sup>

HEINZE AND HIS PARTY  
GO DOWN TO DEFEAT IN  
SILVER BOW COUNTY

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<sup>56</sup>Reveille, November 7, 1904, p. 8.

<sup>57</sup>Butte Evening News, November 8, 1904, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup>Butte Miner, November 9, 1904, p. 1.

The Standard also reported Heinze had been defeated in a headline that read:<sup>59</sup>

#### BUTTE REPUDIATES HEINZE AND HIS METHODS

While the Amalgamated papers played up the national election outcome on the front page (after largely ignoring the national campaign), the Evening News emphasized the local races and relegated other news to the inside pages. The paper reported the major portion of the fusion ticket had been elected in Silver Bow County but conceded the Amalgamated candidates for the District Court bench probably would win. The Evening News contended, though, "The Legislative ticket is safe and that is really to the anti-trust people the most important consideration."<sup>60</sup>

The second day after the election, the Amalgamated papers grudgingly retracted their initial proclamations of a Heinze defeat in Silver Bow County. The Miner admitted the fusion candidates had captured most of the legislative seats but stoutly maintained: "Heinzeism is dead and buried, and as soon as the details are adjusted and the Heinze properties are transferred to the Amalgamated its tombstone will be erected."<sup>61</sup>

The Standard reluctantly acknowledged some fusion candidates had been elected, but argued in view of Heinze's

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<sup>59</sup>Anaconda Standard, November 9, 1904, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup>Butte Evening News, November 9, 1904, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup>Butte Miner, November 10, 1904, p. 4.



shattered plans for a state ticket, a portion of the Silver Bow ticket would be of no use to him. The paper irritably suggested the people forget "Heinzeism"--the issue the Amalgamated press had worked so hard to create:

Now, all you people in Butte, stop the chatter about Heinze and the Heinze outfit! There's been a surfeit of it. No part of it is helpful from the standpoint of any business interest in Butte. In Silver Bow county Heinzeism is a dead issue. Bury it!<sup>62</sup>

Although he failed to gain control of the state legislature, Heinze had not been sent to his political grave. He retained his strong political base in Silver Bow County--the 12 fusion candidates were elected to the legislature and anti-trust candidates captured county offices, with the exception of the two District Court judges. Elsewhere in the state, the Democrats picked up 10 additional house seats, but the Republicans retained control of the lower chamber, which comprised 38 Republicans, 27 Democrats and 7 Laborites. Despite Heinze's efforts, though, the Democrats lost control of the senate, which comprised 16 Republicans and 10 Democrats.<sup>63</sup>

Only two Democrats survived the Republican sweep on the state ticket--Governor Joseph Toole and Lieutenant Governor Edwin Norris. Silver Bow County voted for the full state Democratic slate, but the outcome indicated again that

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<sup>62</sup>Anaconda Standard, November 10, 1904, p. 6.

<sup>63</sup>Ellis L. Waldron, Montana Politics Since 1864: An Atlas of Elections (Missoula: University of Montana Press, 1958), pp. 106-10.

Heinze failed to extend his influence to the rest of Montana. He also failed to replace Chief Justice Theodore Brantly and Congressman Joe Dixon with Democratic candidates; he could claim only partial credit for re-electing Governor Toole, who also had been endorsed by the Amalgamated press.<sup>64</sup>

Heinze's state-wide ambitions were thwarted, despite his personal speaking tour and the Reveille's ebullient anti-trust campaign (aided by the Evening News). There were three reasons for Heinze's failure to capture political control of Montana in the 1904 election: 1) The Amalgamated press successfully gained the offensive by circulating the "sell out" stories and creating the "Heinzeism" issue; 2) The decision of the Anti-Trust party to work within the regular parties, rather than nominate third-party candidates, revealed the lack of support in Montana for the anti-trust movement; 3) Beyond Silver Bow County, voters were not convinced Montana was in danger of a Standard Oil take over, despite Heinze's personal warnings.

The Miner perceptively analyzed Heinze's strategy for the election, contending:

Heinze planned to gain the balance of power in the legislature, thereby repealing the "Fair Trial" law;

By supporting Governor Toole's re-election, Heinze would compel the governor, out of gratitude, to withhold

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 111-12.

his veto from a legislative act repealing the "Fair Trial" law;

Heinze planned to elect friendly judges to maintain control of the District Court in Silver Bow County.<sup>65</sup>

Although Heinze did not sweep the state, the Miner still was smarting from his show of strength in Butte; the paper cried foul:

That many fraudulent votes were cast, and that some frauds in the count were committed, is unquestioned. Only the vigilance of the democrats and republicans prevented the wholesale theft of the entire ticket.<sup>66</sup>

The Reveille responded slowly, but vociferously, to the election results. The paper did not appear until the tenth day after the election. A five-column cartoon on the front page depicted a buzzard swooping over the Amalgamated political cemetery. The Reveille also leveled charges of election fraud in a two-column headline:<sup>67</sup>

FRESH EVIDENCE COMES OF  
GROSSEST FRAUDS IN BALLOT

Plurality for Judges Said to Have Been Obtained by Mis-  
conduct—General Dishonesty and Conspiracy—  
Sensational Disclosures Soon to Be Made.

In an article reprinted from the Evening News, the Reveille absolved the candidates of complicity in election fraud but accused Amalgamated of electing District Court

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<sup>65</sup>Butte Miner, November 11, 1904, p. 4.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>67</sup>Reveille, November 18, 1904, p. 3.

judges dishonestly:

The shutting [sic] out of 250 voters in precinct 30 becomes only an incident compared to the daring schemes of the Amalgamated Copper company by which they placed their judicial friends in power.

Their employees acting as election judges had instructions to elect the judges, regardless of the balance of the ticket. These instructions to 'Elect the Judges' was the slogan of the day in Butte.<sup>68</sup>

The cries of election fraud were partially justified, according to one newspaperman. He said both sides cheated, but mutual suspicion and surveillance blocked wholesale fraud. Even so, Heinze's forces often outwitted the opposition:

Both sides kept a list of voters who had died in the last two years and whose names were still on the voting list. Strangers were sent in to vote these names and many a man long since wearing the celestial crown voted for 10 or 12 years after he was dead. As both republican, democrat and Heinze headquarters were doing this it was up to the Heinze crowd to get to the polls first, which they usually did.<sup>69</sup>

In an analysis of the Montana election, O'Farrell contended:

The big surprise was that Montana voters were more concerned with national than local issues;

Amalgamated secretly ordered its employees in Deer Lodge, Cascade, Missoula and Ravalli counties (where the company had big industrial enterprises) to vote the Republican ticket;

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Byron E. Cooney, "Heinze's Cabinet," Fallon County Times, January 2, 1928.

Amalgamated's so-called Democratic newspapers, led by the Standard and Miner, treacherously worked for the Republican state ticket;

Only fraud prevented the election of the two fusionist candidates to the District Court bench in Butte;

And some Republicans in the legislature would join Democrats to pass radical measures to break Standard Oil's political power in Montana.

O'Farrell concluded, the Republicans were controlled by Amalgamated, so the Democrats would have to support Heinze, who was stronger politically than ever.<sup>70</sup>

Another Reveille editorial, entitled "The National Campaign," contended the Democratic party would have to rid itself of bosses and corruption before it successfully could lead the fight against trusts and monopolies. The editorial pessimistically concluded:

And this system of trust ownership and trust power is growing and will grow, and for the next four years it will have an opportunity to expand and develop as never before. It may grow so powerful that a revolution alone can overthrow it. The press of the United States is no longer independent and most of the men who write for the press in this United States are willing to sell their services to the highest bidder and the highest bidder is the monopolist. With a corrupt press and government elected with the contributions of the great trusts, we see little or no hope for any change in the near future. Some day, however, the people will realize, perhaps when it is too late, the evils which at the present moment are gnawing at the vitals of the republic.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Reveille, November 18, 1904, pp. 4-5.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

That somber view of the nation's plight was in curious contrast to O'Farrell's sanguine conclusions about Heinze's political future.

Evaluated in terms of the Reveille's delineation of the issues, the 1904 election was a major setback for Heinze. His ambitions for state-wide political control were thwarted; Heinze maintained his Silver Bow County stronghold but failed to break Amalgamated's political grip on Montana.

William A. Clark had great financial resources to back his campaign to elect a subservient legislature in 1900; Heinze had his oratory, personality, two newspapers and control of one county in his 1904 campaign. It was not enough.

## CHAPTER VII

### CARTOONS: ADVOCACY, ODIUM AND OBLOQUY

The Reveille was a small voice amid the daily newspapers that shouted for attention during the Butte copper war. The Reveille made itself heard in the journalistic cacophony, though, by catching the reader's eye as well as his ear. Political cartoons became the paper's trademark—huge, bold, caustic cartoons that often covered a major portion of the front page. The cartoons maligned Heinze's enemies and extolled his causes.

Political cartoons became popular in magazines following the Civil War, but not until the presidential election of 1896 did they gain wide acceptance in newspapers. According to one historian, "The first quarter of the twentieth century was a golden age for cartoonists." He said the era provided the elements of the political cartoon: Simple issues that could be easily illustrated and subjects who could be satirized.<sup>1</sup>

Good political cartoons required more than simple issues and enticing subjects. One study of nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup>Edwin Emery, The Press and America (2nd ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), pp. 570-71.

century illustrations identified three requirements for effective political cartoons: 1) Wit or humor should be evident; it should be more than mere comic effect achieved by exaggeration; 2) The cartoon should be truthful, or at least present one side of truth; characters should be easily recognizable—their personal traits should be delineated but not heavily distorted or misrepresented; 3) The cartoon should exemplify a moral purpose and a quality of universality; the artist's strong convictions should be reflected in his work.<sup>2</sup>

Admittedly, those are demanding standards achieved only by a few cartoonists. The study recognized political cartoons often failed because the artist indulged in excessive partisanship and resorted to abusive treatment of his subject. Many artists suffered from overproduction—it is difficult to draw a good cartoon every day. Others were bad artists who could not draw properly, and some were men without principle, men who sold their talents to the highest bidder.<sup>3</sup>

Political cartoons flourished when great issues faced the nation—war, slavery, trusts—and when dominant figures rose to power—Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt. Most cartoons in the nineteenth century

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<sup>2</sup>Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf, A Century of Political Cartoons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), pp. 9-11.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 11.



reflected a conservative outlook; they did not depict radical alternatives to social problems. For example, they suggested conciliation was better for the labor movement than battle, and cartoons attacked the trusts but offered no alternatives to economic monopoly.<sup>4</sup>

Technological advances, as well as strong issues, propelled cartoons into widespread use in newspapers by 1900. Zinc etchings began to replace woodcuts. Woodcuts provided good printed reproductions, but the process was slow—too slow for daily newspapers. Illustrations could be reproduced in four hours, though, by etching on zinc plates with acid. Engraving companies were formed to reproduce illustrations using the zincography process. Many newspapers established their own engraving departments. Illustrations were widely used until the development of the halftone photo-engraving process, when photographers began to replace artists on most newspapers.<sup>5</sup>

During the brief but vibrant reign of the cartoonists, there was a great demand for good artists. Most newspapers did not have staff artists, so when they added cartoons they had to recruit talent from other sources—primarily weekly and monthly magazines. The magazine artists suddenly found themselves in great demand, and

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-17.

<sup>5</sup>Emery, Press and America, pp. 405-408.

many were lured to newspapers by lucrative offers.<sup>6</sup>

Newspaper editors discovered, to their consternation, that a big salary did not necessarily insure the loyalty of a new artist. Competing dailies dangled even larger paychecks before the highly sought cartoonists, who frequently left their new employer for the promise of yet more money. According to one writer:

In those hectic days of journalistic rivalry, cartoonists changed their connections with such kaleidoscopic frequency that it is impossible to assign definite affiliations to more than one or two. Many changed a dozen times in the decade.<sup>7</sup>

Butte newspapers also recruited artists to provide illustrations and cartoons. John Durston, editor of the Standard, brought three artists to Anaconda in the late 1890s.<sup>8</sup> In the 1900 election, the Standard opposed the Fusion party formed by William A. Clark and F. Augustus Heinze. The paper's artists portrayed Clark as a dishonest opportunist, buying votes with boodle and political payoffs. Cartoons also appealed to the reader's sense of honesty and decency, urging him not to vote for

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<sup>6</sup>William Murrell, A History of American Graphic Humor, II (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938), pp. 129-30.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 135.

<sup>8</sup>John P. Fought, "John Durston, editor: The Anaconda Standard in the Clark-Daly Feud," (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1959), p. 168.

a convicted briber.<sup>9</sup>

The Miner, Inter Mountain and Reveille also added cartoonists to their staffs. Like their colleagues on the big city dailies, the artists on the Butte papers often changed jobs. Some bounced between papers in Butte, others left town presumably for more lucrative jobs. Several did not remain in Butte long enough to be listed in the annual city directory.

The Reveille employed at least five cartoonists periodically between 1900 and 1905. T. O. McGill and Tom Thurlby drew cartoons for the Reveille during the 1900 election; McGill also wrote articles warning of Standard Oil schemes to crush Heinze and Clark.<sup>10</sup>

Following the 1900 election, local cartoons disappeared from the Reveille. In August, 1902, cartoons by McGill reappeared; another artist, A. F. Willmarth, worked for the Reveille from September to November, 1902. The Reveille also reprinted cartoons from the New York Journal and other major newspapers.<sup>11</sup>

The pattern was repeated after the 1902 election; local cartoons vanished until the Reveille's next major campaign. When the paper announced plans for a mass meeting in its issue of November 27, 1903, it added a front-page

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-93.

<sup>10</sup>Reveille, September-November, 1900.

<sup>11</sup>Reveille, August-November, 1902.

cartoon. The artist, identified only as "de. Q.," remained with the Reveille only a month. On January 1, 1904, Alfred H. Dutton joined the paper and drew cartoons for the Reveille (and later the Butte Evening News) throughout 1904. In January, 1905, Dutton returned to the Miner, where he had worked during the 1900 campaign.<sup>12</sup>

Dutton's career illustrates the versatility and shifting allegiances of cartoonists on Butte papers during the copper war. In 1900 he used his talent to promote the Clark-Heinze ticket; in 1904 he attacked Clark and Amalgamated; in 1905 he vilified Heinze and embraced the Amalgamated cause.

After Dutton rejoined the Miner, the Reveille was without a staff artist. The paper continued to feature cartoons, though, reprinting from metropolitan dailies the work of widely known cartoonists, including Homer Davenport, Frederick Burr Oppen, T. E. Powers and J. Campbell Cory. The cartoons dealt with national issues, however, and the Reveille no longer provided bold caricatures of local issues and local personalities.

The Reveille used cartoons to attract readers and to supplement its crusades on Heinze's behalf. The cartoons delineated six major themes during the Heinze-Amalgamated fight. Although the paper frequently changed cartoonists, it maintained a remarkable continuity of purpose and subject

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<sup>12</sup>Reveille, November, 1903-December, 1904.



Fig. 1.--F. A. Heinze

Fig. 2.--P. A. O'Farrell



matter in its cartoons.

The first theme centered on Heinze, portraying him as Montana's defender against the Standard Oil copper trust.



Fig. 3.—From the Rev-  
eille, Janu-  
ary 22, 1904,  
p. 1.

Fig. 4.—From the Rev-  
eille, November  
4, 1904, p. 8.



You May Look for This in Montana if, by Your  
Votes, You Drive Heinze Out.

Dutton was a good artist. His caricatures of Heinze and H. H. Rogers (Fig. 3) are well drawn, although he slightly exaggerated John D. Rockefeller's gaunt features. (The Reveille consistently misrepresented John D. Rockefeller as the head of the "Standard Oil copper trust." William G. Rockefeller was one of the founders and officers of the Amalgamated Copper Company, as well as one of the organizers of the Standard Oil Company. His brother, John D. Rockefeller, head of Standard Oil, had no formal connection with Amalgamated.) Heinze was depicted as an underdog, but a brave, strong young man willing to stand up to the heavily armed Rogers and Rockefeller.

The Reveille continually warned of unpleasant consequences should the people vote against Heinze's candidates and drive him from the state. Dutton appealed to fear of lower wages, foreign labor and brutal suppression in a cartoon (Fig. 4) the week of the 1904 election. The cartoonist suggested Amalgamated and Standard Oil were inhumane, vicious organizations. Dutton suggested only Heinze stood between the common man and the cruelty of the "copper trust."

The second theme in the Reveille's cartoons focused on the threat to Montana from Rockefeller and his business and political allies. The paper implied Montana was in danger of subjugation by Rockefeller, that he intended to

plunder the state's resources and enslave its people.  
The cartoon (Fig. 5) showing Rockefeller as a vulture

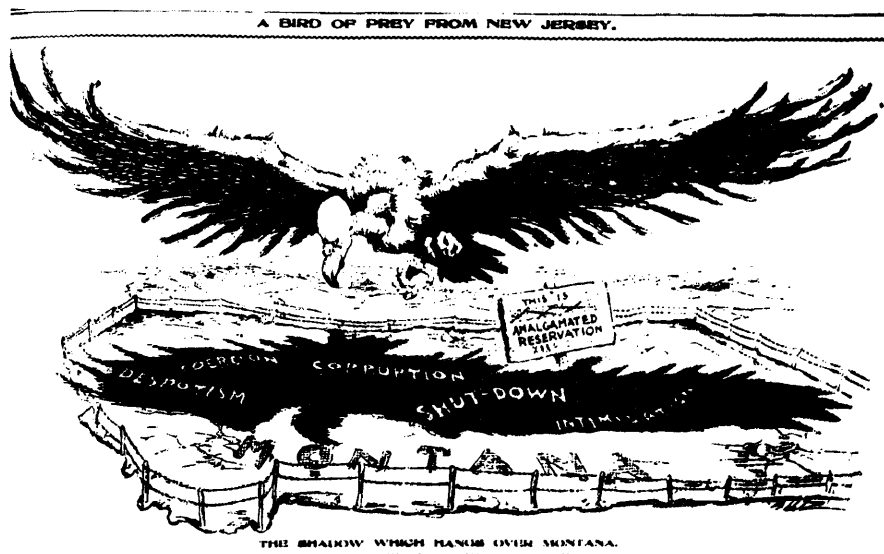


Fig. 5.--From the Reveille, February 26, 1904, p. 5.



Fig. 6.--From the Reveille,  
October 7, 1904,  
p. 8.



Fig. 7.--From the Reveille,  
October 13, 1904,  
p. 2.



casting an ominous shadow over the state warned of dire consequences should Montana be taken over by Amalgamated. The cartoon was effective, however, because it did contain an element of truth—Montana had been subjected to an industrial shutdown and corporate intimidation by Amalgamated.

The cartoon (Fig. 6) picturing a brutish Rockefeller choking a woman personifying Montana also impugns the state's senators. Thomas Carter stands idly in the background, while William A. Clark averts his

WORKINGMEN KEEP THIS PICTURE IN YOUR MIND.



If the Standard Oil Amalgamated Copper Co. Succeeds in Its Purpose of Securing Control of the State of Montana, This Picture Will Be Duplicated in Fact Many Times.

Fig. 8.—From the Reveille, November 10, 1902, p. 3.

eyes from the ghastly scene. H. H. Rogers stands ready to throw the chain of monopoly around the neck of the prostrate Montana. The unsigned cartoon (probably by Dutton) reflects the artist's sense of moral indignation; however, it does not offer an alternative to the problem of monopolies and economic exploitation.

The Reveille often reminded its readers that labor problems in Colorado, where Rockefeller controlled mining enterprises, could spread to Montana—were it not for Heinze's fight against Amalgamated. The cartoon (Fig. 7) depicting a Colorado miner struggling under the burden of "Standard Oil Tyranny" contains an element of truth. It also appeals to class consciousness, reminding workers that they are at the mercy of powerful men like Rockefeller.

Nowhere is the threat of corporate domination in Montana better illustrated than in the cartoon (Fig. 8) by A. F. Willmarth. The cartoon exemplifies the plight of the workingman and his family. Willmarth expresses with sensitivity and moral earnestness the degree to which a family depends on a corporation for its survival. He conveys to the reader the despair and loneliness of the family: The broken door, empty cupboard, decaying wall, bowed head of the wife and the child reaching for a bone that a rat is gnawing on evoke sympathy for the working people and create hatred for the forces that exploit them. In Willmarth's view, those forces are represented

by Standard Oil and Amalgamated.

Another variation on the theme of the Rockefeller threat to Montana is shown in the cartoon (Fig. 9) that covers most of the front page of the Reveille's 1903 Christmas issue. The cartoon also has an element of humor.



Fig. 9.—From the Reveille, December 25, 1903, p. 1.

The series of cartoons on Pat Mullins demonstrates a third theme--the vilification of Heinze's enemies. The Reveille portrayed Mullins as an odious, reprehensible politician. Butte's mayor is accused of paying homage to Rockefeller (Fig. 10) in exchange for Standard Oil money. Dutton's caricature of Mullins as a traitor plunging a dagger in Montana's back (Fig. 11) is an example of the Reveille's savage, vindictive abuse of Heinze's foes. The cartoonist's abusive treatment of the subject, however, is not justified. Mullins' "crime" was disloyalty to Heinze; Dutton was going beyond the truth to compare Mullins to Judas and Benedict Arnold.

Dutton's cartoon tracing Mullins' political career (Fig. 12) contains an element of truth and provides a touch of humor. The artist also achieved a degree of universality by illustrating a human proclivity to use a political office for personal gain.

The fourth cartoon theme reflects the Reveille's view of the Montana press. The paper held itself in high esteem, and suggested (Fig. 13) it focused public attention on dishonesty and wrongdoing. There is a disparity, though, between the Reveille's crusading, intemperate tone and the cartoon's image of a reserved young man with a searchlight.

The Reveille's view of its opposition--the "muzzled press"--is clearly expressed in the cartoon (Fig. 14) showing William Scallon cracking a whip over his pack of hounds.

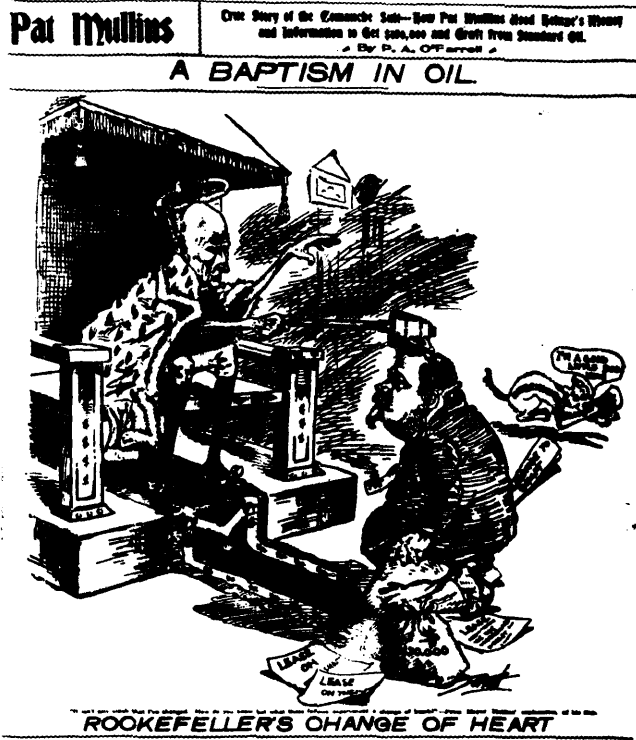


Fig. 10.—From the Rev-  
eille, October  
7, 1904, p. 1.

Fig. 11.—From the Rev-  
eille, October  
13, 1904, p. 1.





**The Story of Pat Mullins, a Comedy Drama in Four Acts.**

Fig. 12.--From the Reveille, October 24, 1904, p. 1.



Fig. 13.--From the Reveille, September 20, 1902, p. 8.



Fig. 14.—From the Rev-  
eille, January  
29, 1904, p. 1.

Fig. 15.—From the Rev-  
eille, October  
17, 1904, p. 3.



PREPARING THE DOPE SHEET

The cartoonist selected an appropriate metaphor to depict the Amalgamated press; he also displayed humor by drawing apt facial expressions for each dog.

The Amalgamated papers frequently echoed similar views, particularly when they were attacking Heinze.



Fig. 16.--An original cartoon by T. O. McGill.



The cartoon by Dutton (Fig. 15) suggests Rockefeller dictated a "party line" to the "muzzled press." The cartoon was part of the Reveille's effort to refute stories in the opposition papers during the 1904 campaign that Heinze was preparing to sell his Butte properties.

The original cartoon by T. O. McGill (Fig. 16) is pasted inside the cover of the bound volume of the Reveille in the School of Journalism library at the University of Montana. Although a corner of the cartoon had been torn off, McGill's signature is recognizable. He first sketched the cartoon in pencil, then traced over the lines with black ink. The cartoon portrays O'Farrell as a towering figure with a copy of the Reveille under his arm; Clark is depicted as a small, fearful man. McGill evidently drew the cartoon following the 1902 election, in which Heinze was victorious over the Butte Democratic organization controlled by Clark and Amalgamated.

The fifth cartoon theme supports the Reveille's accusation that Amalgamated operated company stores in Montana. The cartoon picturing Rockefeller as a grocery clerk (Fig. 17) lampoons an announcement that Amalgamated had sold its mercantile interests to Dan Hennessy. The cartoonist implies Hennessy is the owner in name only, and that Rockefeller continues to operate company stores in Montana.

A few months later the Reveille featured a huge

front-page cartoon (Fig. 18) showing the same scene, except that Hennessy had replaced Rockefeller behind the counter. The first cartoon also was inserted in a corner of the large illustration. Dutton again ridiculed an announcement that Hennessy had transferred his interest in the Hennessy Mercantile Company to Amalgamated. The changes in ownership of the large store added credence to the Reveille's attack on the company store system. The cartoons helped the paper simplify the issue: Despite the name of the store, Rockefeller controlled the mercantile business in Montana.



Fig. 17.—From the *Reveille*, February 12, 1904, p. 4.

The sixth theme in the Reveille's cartoons appealed for support of the anti-trust movement. Emotional, provocative cartoons reflected the bitter fight between Amalgamated and Heinze in the 1904 campaign.

**THE REVEILLE**  
 BUTTE, MONTANA, MONDAY, MAY 30, 1904  
 ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR

**ROCKEFELLER CONTROLS STEEL TRUST**

**WHOSE STONES ARE THEY, ANYHOW?**

**NOTICE**  
 THIS IS NOT MY STORE I SOLD IT BACK TO ROCKEFELLER FOR 30¢

**ALL WORK AND NO TRADE, PARD, ROCKEFELLER POST HAD - See Amalgamated**

**YOU DON'T HAVE TO TRADE HERE BUT THINK IT OVER**

**YOU DON'T HAVE TO TRADE HERE BUT THINK IT OVER**

**ROCKEFELLER'S GRIP.**  
 (What do you think about it?)

**Lawson Breaks Into Print Once More**

**AMALGAMATED POLITICS IN NEW YORK CITY**

**SHE CLAUDS H. H. ROGERS SWINDLED HER OUT OF FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS**

Fig. 18.--From the Reveille, May 30, 1904, p. 1.

Dutton drew a huge snake poised to strike (Fig. 19) and Rockefeller trying to convince Montana the reptile was harmless. Cartoonists frequently represented the "Standard Oil copper trust" as a snake or an octopus.

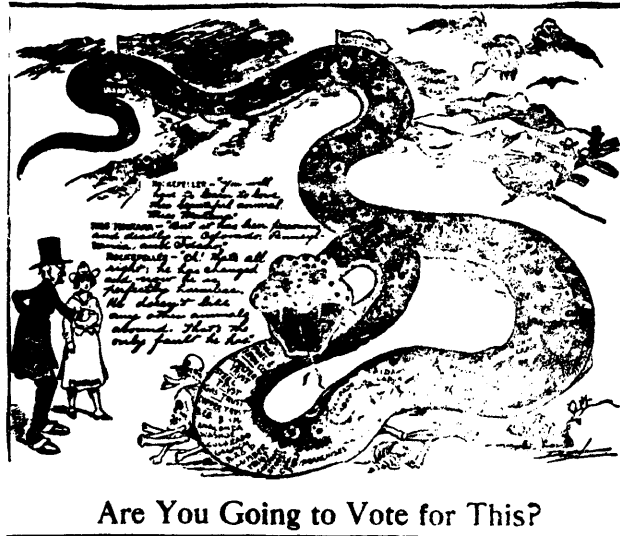


Fig. 19.—From the Reveille, November 7, 1904, p. 5.



Fig. 20.—From the Reveille, October 31, 1904, p. 5.

Another cartoon during the 1904 campaign (Fig. 20) showed a snake coiled around Idaho, Colorado and Pennsylvania. The reptile's head was Rockefeller's, and his forked tongue licked at Montana's resources. The arm

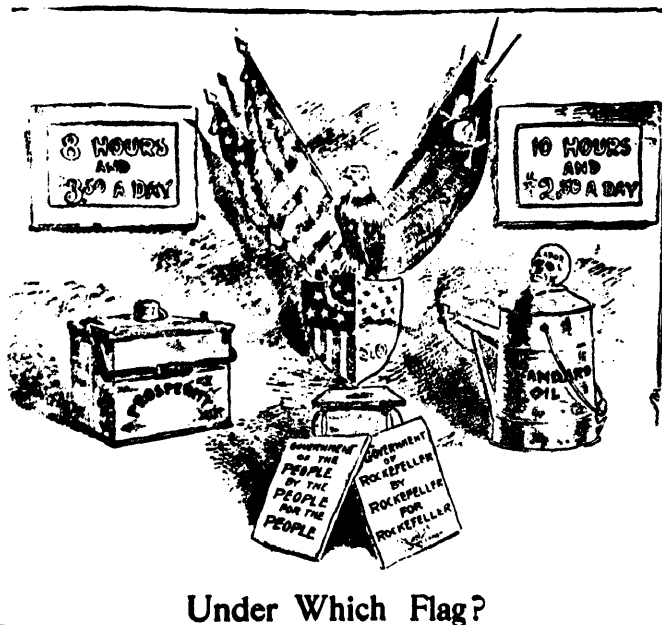


Fig. 21.--From the Reveille, October 24, 1904, p. 3.

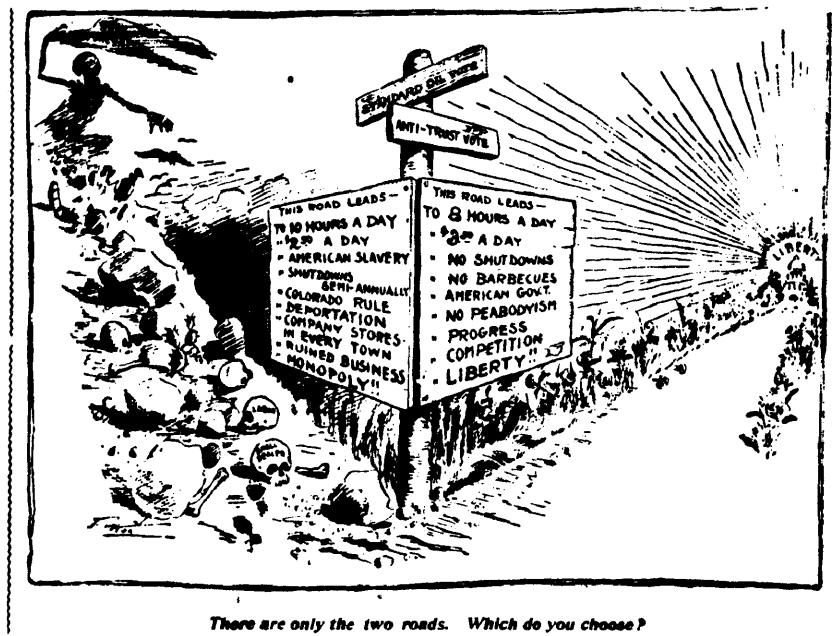


Fig. 22.—From the Reveille, October 7, 1904, p. 6.

of the anti-trust movement, a three-pronged spear clenched in the fist, was poised over the serpent's head. The cartoon is an example of abusive treatment of a subject; the artist distorted Rockefeller's personal traits and faults by depicting him as a reptile.

The visual metaphors representing the Standard Oil threat as a serpent provoke revulsion and disgust. The cartoons delineating the campaign issues offer the reader a choice.

Dutton appealed to the labor vote in the cartoon

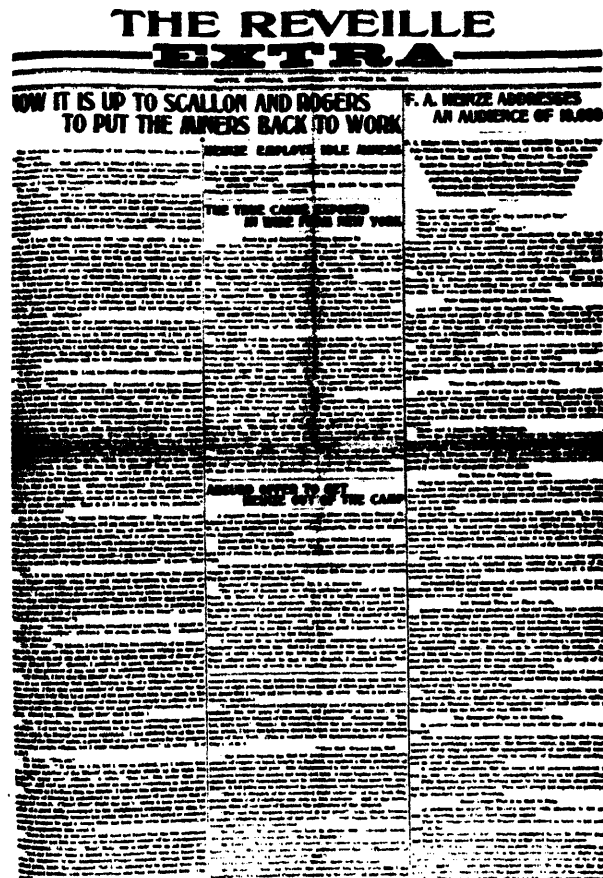


Fig. 23.—Reveille, October 28, 1903, p. 1.

(Fig. 21) defining the issues as prosperity under government by the people or low wages under Rockefeller's rule. The cartoon is a good example of the Reveille's effort to simplify political and economic issues and appeal to the voters' economic interests.

Dutton's cartoon urging the voter to choose between the path to ruin or the path to liberty (Fig. 22) is another example of the Reveille's attempt to define the campaign issues in fundamental terms. The cartoonist clearly exaggerates the dangers on the Standard Oil road, but he does



Fig. 24.—Reveille, December 18, 1903, p. 1.

offer the reader an alternative, although it is a conventional one. There is no suggestion of a radical solution, such as changing the political or economic system. In other words, the cartoon is simply another means of rallying support for the anti-trust movement.

The Reveille effectively used cartoons to support Heinze's political battles. Front-page cartoons added to the paper's bold, crusading appearance. Without cartoons, (Fig. 23) the Reveille often appeared dull, even ponderous. With the addition of cartoons, though, (Fig. 24) the paper seemed to have a sense of purpose and vitality.

The Reveille made the greatest use of cartoons when Heinze was waging political warfare. The cartoons advocated Heinze's cause; they vilified his opponents. The cartoonists skillfully delineated the issues, but they rarely proposed viable solutions to the problems created by giant corporations and powerful men fighting over Butte's wealth.

As one writer has pointed out, political cartoons have a serious weakness: The artist must reduce complex issues to simple alternatives; he must rely on symbols or stereotypes that cannot be modified; he must defend his hero by attacking his enemies. In short, the cartoon is a limited weapon.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Henry Ladd Smith, "The Rise and Fall of The Political Cartoon," Saturday Review, May 29, 1954, pp. 28-29.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SELLOUT: END OF AN ERA

The Butte Evening News, established March 1, 1904, shared an office with the Reveille at 28 West Broadway, between two saloons. The printing department was in the basement. The pressmen discovered a line running from a beer keg under the floor to the saloon upstairs. The resourceful printers tapped the line, and for a long time enjoyed free beer while toiling at the press. One fellow forgot to put the plug back in the line after drinking his fill, however, and the saloon keeper soon discovered the cause of his beer shortage. The owner angrily threatened to sue the Evening News for \$10,000, but its personable editor, Richard R. Kilroy, assuaged him by giving his saloon six months of free advertising.<sup>1</sup>

Kilroy had been a reporter for the Reveille before becoming editor of the Evening News. One of his daughters remembered him as a "delightful, outgoing Irishman, a raconteur." She said her father, who was born in Ireland and was graduated from the University of Dublin, was a

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with E. G. Leipheimer, Flathead Lake, Montana, September 1, 1968.

close friend of F. Augustus Heinze.<sup>2</sup>

A former reporter for the Evening News described Kilroy as "the most unreasonable, unfair and intolerant tyrant I've ever known, and the most amenable, just and liberal boss." He said Kilroy became upset and theatrical if his paper was scooped on a story but believed the way to develop reporters was to give them good assignments; he felt responsibility would develop a good man.<sup>3</sup>

Another former Evening News reporter said Kilroy was a good writer, but spent most of his time advising Heinze and plotting against his enemies. He said Kilroy often would dash into the office a half-hour after the paper was supposed to be on the street, order the press held, and write his daily editorial.<sup>4</sup>

The Evening News was published Monday through Saturday, but it had only four reporters who also wrote their own headlines. Kilroy was a demanding editor. He insisted on bright, vigorous heads and brevity--most stories ran about 300 words. The small staff worked hard to compete with other Butte dailies employing from 8 to 15 reporters.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Interview with Mrs. Peggy Kilroy Verstappen, Butte, Montana, August 6, 1968.

<sup>3</sup>Berton Braley, Pegasus Pulls A Hack (New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1934), pp. 55-56.

<sup>4</sup>Leipheimer Interview.

<sup>5</sup>Braley, Pegasus, pp. 72-73.

The competition for advertising was stiff, too. In a two-column box on the front page, the Evening News appealed to its readers to patronize merchants who advertised in the paper:

This newspaper and the interests it represents are opposed to making Butte a one-company town,--to one-company methods in the industrial, as well as in the political life of this community. Its existence depends in no small degree upon the patronage of the independent merchants of Butte,--upon the men who profit by its fight against monopoly.<sup>6</sup>

The paper also assured its readers none of the advertisers were associated with the "company store," and implied merchants who advertised only in Amalgamated papers should be boycotted. The Butte Miner responded with a cartoon depicting the Evening News as a crippled beggar calling for help.

Unlike the Reveille, which had very little advertising and devoted its news columns to Heinze's political crusades, the Evening News resembled an orthodox newspaper. It used a restrained layout, supplemented local news coverage with telegraphic service from the Scripps News Association, provided sports news and had a classified advertising section. In its first issue, the Evening News proclaimed itself an independent paper that "stands on its own footing to rise or fall as it is fair or false, and asks the public to determine its character solely by the record

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<sup>6</sup>Butte Evening News, January 19, 1905, p. 1.

it shall make."<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, the paper was devoted to Heinze's interests. In the 1904 campaign, it covered Heinze's state-wide speaking tour and endorsed his anti-trust movement. Following the election, the Evening News became the dominant spokesman for Heinze's cause. The Reveille continued to support Heinze, but the paper's crusading zeal and overriding concern with the anti-trust cause were gone. Much of the Reveille after the 1904 election comprised stories and editorials from the Evening News.

The Reveille's decline was caused partially by the departure of its editor, P. A. O'Farrell. Some writers speculate O'Farrell aspired to the editorship of the Evening News and left when Kilroy got the job. A reporter who had worked on the Evening News, however, suggests O'Farrell quit after he quarreled with Heinze over a bridge game.<sup>8</sup>

A more likely explanation, though, is that O'Farrell realized Heinze was beaten after the 1904 election and O'Farrell left to search for a new cause to champion. O'Farrell continued to write for the Reveille through 1905, describing his travels across the U. S. and Canada, and extolling the economic potential and natural beauty of the Pacific Northwest.

An article datelined Halcyon Hot Springs, B. C.,

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<sup>7</sup>Butte Evening News, March 1, 1904, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup>Byron E. Cooney, "Heinze's Cabinet," Fallon County Times, January 2, 1928.

offers a good example of O'Farrell's lyrical, descriptive prose and writing style:

And what sunsets we behold from the waters of Arrow Lake! Every cloud and mountain top was transformed into purple and gold as the God of Day bade the darkening world farewell, and then it was night, and such a night with not a cloud in the sky and a myriad of dazzling worlds in the firmament and the pale, full harvest moon coming skipping over the mountains and casting its borrowed light upon the lake and shore and forests. Night and music and moonlight on the Adriatic may enchant old-world dreamers and faded appetites, but no spot on earth can afford the enchantment and delight that befit these Arrow lakes when autumn's suns and moons and skies pile on their charms.<sup>9</sup>

Heinze continued his fight against Amalgamated into 1905. The Evening News urged the Ninth Legislative Assembly to pass the reform measures endorsed by Heinze and the anti-trust movement. The paper adopted the Reveille's tactic of branding most of Montana's dailies tools of Amalgamated. The Evening News asserted only the Great Falls Tribune joined it in supporting the right of initiative and referendum.<sup>10</sup>

The Butte Miner countered with a series of cartoons by Alfred Dutton (the former Reveille cartoonist) attacking Heinze, the Evening News and the anti-trust movement. The Amalgamated papers, however, did not mount a personal campaign against Heinze as they had during the 1904 election.

Although the Reveille provided some local coverage

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<sup>9</sup>Reveille, November 10, 1905, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup>Butte Evening News, January 28, 1905, p. 4.

of the legislature, much of the copy was reprinted from the Evening News. The Reveille involved itself in the debate over the Thomas Francis Meagher statue in front of the Capitol, opposing all efforts to move it. The great concern over the location of a statue was a telling sign that the Reveille's big crusade was over--the crusade against the "copper trust," Amalgamated, Rockefeller and Standard Oil; the paper no longer was the champion of Heinze and the workingman.

Heinze's new journalistic advocate, the Evening News, continued to urge legislative approval of the initiative and referendum, direct primary law and railroad commission. The paper was noncommittal on former Senator Thomas Carter's bid to succeed Senator Paris Gibson. When the legislature finally elected Carter, after stiff opposition from a group of Republican insurgents dubbed the "Indians," the Evening News remarked "there is nobody to question the fact that he [Carter] is one of the ablest Americans in public life today."<sup>11</sup>

After eight weeks, the lawmakers passed a bill for an initiative and referendum ammendment. The Evening News said the measure was a good compromise and would end corporate interference in the legislature. The paper complimented the lawmakers, particularly the Silver Bow

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<sup>11</sup>Butte Evening News, January 16, 1905, p. 4.

County delegation, for approving the bill.<sup>12</sup>

The Evening News chided Governor Toole, however, for opposing the railroad commission bill passed by the legislature. The paper brushed aside the governor's legitimate objections to the measure, contending:

What Montana wants is a railroad commission, the governor's personal, political or other prejudices are only an incident. For years the governor has been telling us that the state needed nothing worse than a railroad commission. Here's a fine opportunity to let us know how badly he wants it.<sup>13</sup>

The Butte Miner rushed to the governor's defense.

The paper replied:

The assault on Governor Toole by the Evening News, in which the chief executive is threatened in case he does not approve the infamous railway commission bill, is ill-timed by the fusionists, who--having tried to 'run' the legislature--are now making an effort to bulldoze the chief executive of this state.<sup>14</sup>

Two days later the Miner commended the governor for vetoing the railroad commission bill, despite threats from the "rowdy press."<sup>15</sup>

The Evening News rebuked the governor for his veto, calling it a "farce." The paper said the governor had fallen down badly, and implied the voters would remember the veto at the polls.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Butte Evening News, March 1, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup>Butte Evening News, March 4, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup>Butte Miner, March 5, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup>Butte Miner, March 7, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup>Butte Evening News, March 7, 1905, p. 4.

Ironically, the Reveille's only response to the passage of reform measures by the 1905 legislature--proposals long advocated by the paper--was opinion reprinted from the Evening News. The paper devoted two pages, though, to the inauguration of President Theodore Roosevelt.<sup>17</sup>

The Reveille evidently believed its anti-trust campaign had been vindicated. It observed newspapers across the country were filled with new developments in the crusade against Standard Oil, but Montana papers were silent:

The New York Commercial and the Butte Miner and Inter Mountain and the Anaconda Standard do not dare comment on the affair, but it is remarkable that while the many stories and opinions printed in Montana's rather limited anti-trust newspapers during the past six years were decried by the muzzled press as slander and calumny, the newspapers of the nations are now printing the same material and the Amalgamated organs do not dare retaliate.<sup>18</sup>

When Amalgamated announced plans to close the Butte & Boston smelter, the Reveille interpreted the action as a vindication of Heinze's warnings during the 1904 campaign. The paper printed two statements in boxes on the front page. One box contained an excerpt from Heinze's speech of November 7, 1904, in which he predicted the Butte & Boston and the Colorado smelters would be shut down within six months after the election and the ore shipped to Anaconda. The other box contained a statement

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<sup>17</sup>Reveille, March 10, 1905, pp. 2,3,4.

<sup>18</sup>Reveille, March 24, 1905, p. 4.



from the November 3, 1904, Anaconda Standard, denying Amalgamated planned to close the two smelters.<sup>19</sup>

The Reveille compared the statements and concluded Heinze's warning had been accurate—that Amalgamated was beginning to consolidate properties and eliminate jobs. In the paper's view, Heinze's predictions had become reality.

In the same issue, the paper reprinted from the Evening News an account of the anti-trust victory in the Butte municipal election. The story was placed on the back page of the Reveille, although it easily could have been put on the front page in place of an article on Standard Oil methods in Kansas, reprinted from the Saturday Evening Post. The paper reported John MacGinniss (a stockholder and officer in Heinze's company) had been elected mayor by a plurality of 932 votes.<sup>20</sup>

The story did not point out, however, that MacGinniss received only 36 and one-half per cent of the votes cast. His minority victory resulted from strong showings by the Socialist and Independent party candidates, who drew votes from the Republican and Democratic candidates. Although the Anti-Trust party did not sweep the election, the outcome showed Heinze still maintained a strong political base in Butte.

Two weeks later the Reveille exulted over the

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<sup>19</sup>Reveille, April 7, 1905, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

Supreme Court ruling upholding Heinze's legal claim to the Minnie Healy mine. Most of the front page was devoted to accounts of the court decision, a history of the legal case and pictures of the mine and parties involved in the legal dispute.<sup>21</sup>

In an editorial reprinted from the Evening News, the Reveille reminded its readers Heinze won the case only because he could afford to fight a huge corporation; however, the average man would not stand a chance against the "copper trust:"

Blackmail, perjury, slander, character assassins, costly newspapers, bribery, every chicanery known to an organization that has made the world stand aghast at the extent and character of its relentless and unscrupulous warfare has been brought to bear in this fight and against all that Heinze stands triumphant at last.

True it cost Heinze a million dollars to fight it, and in that short fact alone lies a lesson that every man in Montana may well take to heart.

Small chance has the man of moderate means against this terrible power!

If some poor miner, with nothing but that one property, had to fight this battle how much would he have won out of it?

What chance would he have against a hundred affidavit-makers, against a dozen blackmailing newspapers, against the strongest array of legal talent in the world?<sup>22</sup>

The editorial concluded Butte would rejoice at Heinze's legal victory, and men would return to work at one of the city's richest mines, which frequently had been idled by Amalgamated injunctions. The Reveille also implied

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<sup>21</sup>Reveille, April 21, 1905, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

the Minnie Healy case again vindicated Heinze's fight against Amalgamated--that the "copper trust" had attempted to crush its opposition by every means possible, including the courts.

The settlement of the long, bitter fight over the Minnie Healy marked a turning point in the copper war. The political and legal fight was muted, the contestants turned their energies to mining and smelting.

The Engineering and Mining Journal reported copper consumption had advanced more quickly than copper production during 1904 and predicted an increased demand for the metal in 1905. The trade weekly said Montana continued to lead the nation in copper production, and that exports from the U. S. (which produced from 55 to 60 per cent of the world's copper) had increased 86 per cent between 1903 and 1904.<sup>23</sup>

The brisk copper market augured well for a settlement of the Heinze-Amalgamated struggle. The Reveille's loss of interest in the anti-trust crusade following the Butte city elections, its decreased coverage and even neglect of local issues and its absence of outrage, vitriol and obloquy directed against its old foes were the first evidence Heinze was prepared to quit the fight.

The Reveille even welcomed the lull in the industrial battle. The paper observed:

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<sup>23</sup>Frederick Hobart, "Copper," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXIX (January 5, 1905), pp. 6-7.

During the past six months there has been a greater demand for mining property in Butte and more outside capital invested in local properties than in any corresponding period for many years; that's a good indication of continued prosperity.

As long as the men who own Butte's mines find it profitable to make all the copper they can, and get it to the market as fast as they can, so long will Butte have no army of unemployed. A big output means a big payroll and a big payroll is what makes Butte prosperous, merchants busy and everybody happy. Long may the condition continue!<sup>24</sup>

Butte's prosperity, the increased tempo of production and the strong demand for copper added to the value of Heinze's properties. The outcome of the 1904 election, the governor's veto of the railroad commission bill and the partial victory of the anti-trust candidates in the Butte municipal election weakened Heinze's political influence. Heinze had three options: Regroup and launch another attack against Amalgamated, seek a truce or at least extend the lull in the copper warfare, or sell out. He chose the third.

Heinze's decision may have been influenced by the sale of the Speculator Mining Company, which left only two major independent copper producers in Butte--Heinze and William A. Clark. The North Butte Copper Company bought the Speculator operation for \$5 million. The sale was handled by Thomas F. Cole of Duluth, Minnesota, and James Hoatson of Calumet, Michigan.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Reveille, October 20, 1905, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>"Special Correspondence," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXIX (April 20, 1905) p. 784.

The evidence made public during the 1904 campaign strongly suggests Heinze attempted to sell his property during the summer preceding that election. According to one writer, Amalgamated did not make a decision to buy out Heinze until the Supreme Court upheld his claim to the Minnie Healy mine.<sup>26</sup> A historian said John D. Ryan (who replaced William Scallon as Amalgamated manager in February, 1905) began negotiations with Heinze in August, 1905.<sup>27</sup> Heinze's brother, Otto, said the negotiations began in Butte, later were moved to New York, and lasted from 12 to 18 months before the sale was announced.<sup>28</sup>

In early October, 1905, Heinze returned to Butte after a three-month absence. In a story reprinted from the Evening News, the Reveille said Heinze had been on vacation in New York and Europe. The story also quoted Heinze as saying the lull in the legal battle between the big Butte interests evidently reflected a lessening of hostilities and a realization that Butte had room for all

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<sup>26</sup> Joseph Kinsey Howard, Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome (New illus. ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 81.

<sup>27</sup> Robert G. Raymer, Montana: The Land and the People, I (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1930), p. 508.

<sup>28</sup> Sarah McNelis, "The Life of F. Augustus Heinze" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1947), p. 144.

copper producers.<sup>29</sup>

A one-column headline above the story announced:<sup>30</sup>

F. A. HEINZE  
IS HOME  
AGAIN

But not for long. In December he left for New York. A month before Heinze's trip east, The Engineering and Mining Journal reported Ben B. Thayer had spent three weeks in Butte. The trade publication said Thayer, representing H. H. Rogers, had inspected Amalgamated mines; before returning to New York October 23, Thayer said the mines were in top condition and the veins looked excellent.<sup>31</sup>

The reason for Thayer's Butte trip became clear four months later when the Butte Inter Mountain broke the news that Heinze had sold his Butte copper interests. The paper expressed delight and relief that the copper war was over:

This means that peace, lasting and general, has come to the copper mining interests of Butte, and that the city may be said to have entered upon an era of development and prosperity such as only the most enthusiastic ever dreamed was possible.<sup>32</sup>

The Butte Miner announced the sale in a banner

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<sup>29</sup>Reveille, October 6, 1905, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>"Special Correspondence," The Engineering and Mining Journal, LXXX (November 11, 1905), p. 895.

headline in red letters:<sup>33</sup>

# HEINZE SELLS HIS BUTTE COPPER PROPERTIES

Just below that another banner headline in black letters declared:<sup>34</sup>

## THOS. F. COLE IN CHARGE OF UNITED COPPER CO.'S INTERESTS

The paper filled its front page with news of the transaction; it said Heinze would receive about \$25 million. (Heinze actually received \$10.5 million for his property.)

The Miner made little effort to hide its approval of the sale and predicted the transfer of Heinze's assets to the Cole syndicate would mean a new era of prosperity for Butte.<sup>35</sup>

The Anaconda Standard also devoted its front page to the Heinze sale. The paper optimistically forecast unparalleled benefits for Butte as the result of the sale, but it could not resist some disparaging remarks about Heinze:

The Montana copper war has ended and peace henceforth will reign over the Butte district.

The future has in store for the city unexampled prosperity.

Many big mines that have long been shut down by injunctions will soon be added to the big list of copper producers.

Several thousand more men will find employment.

Many thousands of dollars will be added to the monthly payrolls.

Millions of pounds of copper will be added to the Butte and Anaconda output.

Mining companies will confine their efforts to legitimate enterprises.

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<sup>33</sup>Butte Miner, February 14, 1906, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

Mining in the courts will cease.  
Heinze has sold out!<sup>36</sup>

The paper gave full credit for the industrial settlement to Amalgamated manager John D. Ryan. The Standard said Ryan had formed plans in spring, 1905, for an independent company (headed by Thomas Cole, the Duluth mining operator and promoter--and a schoolmate of Ryan's--who arranged the sale of the Speculator company) to acquire the United Copper Company and end the fight between Amalgamated and Heinze.<sup>37</sup>

The Reveille's version of the sale differed from the accounts in the Amalgamated papers. In a story from the Evening News, the Reveille explained:

The United Copper company retains all its treasury cash and cash assets, as do its subsidiary companies, and they have large stock holdings in practically all the large companies operating in Butte; . . .

Thus the Heinzes will remain directly and indirectly large producers of copper and the continuance of the present handsome dividends on the preferred and common stock of the United Copper company is assured for a long time to come.<sup>38</sup>

The Reveille tried to persuade its readers the sale would not remove Heinze from the Butte business and political scene. In an editorial entitled "It Does Not Eliminate Heinze," the paper challenged a report in the Standard that Heinze retained no interest in Cole's new company: "The

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<sup>36</sup>Anaconda Standard, February 14, 1906, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Reveille, February 16, 1906, p. 1.



business interests may rest assured no matter what information newspapers or others may spread to the contrary, that the new arrangement does not eliminate Heinze from this field of operations."<sup>39</sup>

Heinze returned to Butte in early April, 1905, after spending four months in New York on what the Reveille called a "visit." In a story reprinted from the Evening News, the Reveille proclaimed Heinze's return to the mining camp dispelled rumors that he had left Butte for a new business venture. The paper quoted Heinze as saying:

'I propose to continue here, devoting myself to the further development of the United Copper Company's holdings in Butte and in several other sections of the state.

'I have no doubt that it will be but a very short time before I will be employing directly at least as many men as I was before the settlement with Mr. Cole.

'It would indeed be strange for a man like myself, whose entire life work up to date has been devoted to the copper-producing industry, to abandon that business at a time such as the present, when the remarkable condition of the copper metal market is attracting the attention of financiers the world over.'<sup>40</sup>

Despite his promises, Heinze soon left Butte and the mining business for New York, where he bought control of the Mercantile National Bank. Heinze was a superb engineer and an effective politician, at home in the mines and on the hustings; on Wall Street he was a neophyte, an easy target for the likes of Rockefeller and Rogers. His old enemies wasted little time in driving him to financial

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>40</sup>Reveille, April 6, 1906, p. 4.

ruin. Heinze lost the \$10.5 million he had received for his Butte properties and narrowly escaped a federal charge of misusing funds from his New York bank. (Heinze and a business associate, Charles Morse, were indicted for fraudulent banking practices. Heinze was acquitted, but Morse, a stock market manipulator and organizer of an ice trust, was convicted and sentenced to federal prison.) In 1914 Heinze died in Saratoga, New York, a month before his 46th birthday anniversary. Cirrhosis of the liver was listed as the cause of death.<sup>41</sup>

The Reveille was continued following Heinze's sellout until October 22, 1909, when the paper was terminated without explanation.<sup>42</sup> The Reveille became a sedate weekly following its last virulent anti-trust crusade during the 1904 campaign; its pages were filled mostly with copy from the Evening News. The Reveille suffered a pauper's death, not even its old antagonists--the Standard, Miner and Inter Mountain--acknowledged its passing.

The final issue of the Evening News appeared February 3, 1911, with the word "Thirty" centered at the top of the front page, above the flag, and in the two top

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<sup>41</sup>Work Projects Administration, Copper Camp (New York: Hastings House, 1943), p. 45. [For Heinze's obituary see: New York Times, November 5, 1914, p. 11; November 6, p. 12. Also: Anaconda Standard, November 5, 1914, pp. 1, 6, 11.]

<sup>42</sup>Reveille, October 22, 1909.

corners. The paper announced in a front-page box:

The News, with this issue, discontinues publication. Conditions with which the local public is sufficiently familiar to need no recital, make it impossible for four daily newspapers to maintain an independent existence in this community. To its patrons and staunch friends the News kindly and reluctantly makes this announcement.<sup>43</sup>

Heinze's sellout, and the subsequent demise of the Reveille and Evening News, left Butte without a strong personality or a clear voice to challenge the Amalgamated Copper Company. In a sense, Heinze betrayed Butte's workingmen and small merchants by selling out.

According to one theory, though, Heinze was not only forgiven by the miners for leaving them but viewed with the admiration given prospectors who "strike it rich." In other words, Butte was considered a mining camp, where men came to seek their fortunes. When a man "struck it rich," he was expected to leave the grimy camp with his fortune and retire to a life of leisure and comfort.<sup>44</sup>

That view is supported by another writer who had discerned the unique character of Butte's populace several years before Heinze sold his properties:

It [Butte] attracted, moreover, a different class of men, especially in its earlier days, than other Western towns. It drew almost exclusively from the older West, from other mining camps, from California, Nevada, Utah, the Black Hills, Colorado--schooling Westerners

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<sup>43</sup>Butte Evening News, February 3, 1911, p. 1.

<sup>44</sup>Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, "Butte--The Heart of the Copper Industry," Overland Monthly, November, 1906, p. 376.

all, who were attracted here not to make homes, not to boom a village into a city, but with the universal spirit of the prospector, to make as much money as possible in as short a time as possible, and get out of the country.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps Heinze's actions can be justified by portraying him as a prospector, a lucky man who dug a fortune from the Butte hill. But the portrait does not resemble the subject. The evidence suggests Heinze was an aspiring capitalist who thrived in the unrestrained, competitive, "public be damned" business climate of his time, a shrewd student of human nature who used the press, politics and public institutions for personal gain.

Although he championed Heinze's press crusade against the "Standard Oil copper trust," P. A. O'Farrell understood the necessity to consolidate Butte's copper enterprises, and he agreed such an amalgamation was economically desirable. Moreover, he believed Heinze was the only man qualified to head such a combine:

It was certainly an extraordinary proceeding on the part of Mr. Daly and the Standard Oil people, when they undertook the amalgamation of the copper mines of Butte, to begin by making war on Heinze. He was the only one of the copper kings who was qualified to put the reduction works of the various concerns in a thoroughly efficient condition. He alone among them was competent to advise on the methods by which mining operations in Butte could be systemized in a business-like and a scientific manner. He alone was capable of directing the plans of engineers, whose business it

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<sup>45</sup>Ray Stannard Baker, "Butte City--Greatest of Copper Camps," The Century Magazine, April, 1903, p. 873.

would be to unify the workings of these great mines.<sup>46</sup>

O'Farrell endorsed a copper amalgamation in Butte; as editor of the Reveille, he campaigned against Amalgamated and Standard Oil and exploited legitimate fear of trusts for Heinze's personal and economic benefit. At best, the Reveille's anti-trust crusade helped the miners get better pay and a shorter work day, contributed to the passage of reform legislation and opposed the Amalgamated press.

As one writer has observed, however, Heinze's crusade against the "copper trust" actually strengthened Amalgamated. He forced the company to tighten its grip on Montana, to acquire newspapers, influence politicians and crush business competitors. Ironically, Heinze enriched Amalgamated by boring into its mines and discovering rich ore deposits overlooked by the company's engineers.<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps the most unpleasant consequence of the Heinze era was what one writer called "Montana's captive press." Newspapers were acquired by a few powerful men during the copper war and used as weapons, as well as a medium for disseminating news. Despite the personal aims of the newspapers' owners during the struggle, various viewpoints were represented in the press and the truth usually filtered through to the public. After the competing voices

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<sup>46</sup>Patrick A. O'Farrell, Butte: Its Copper Mines and Copper Kings (New York: Printing House of James A. Rogers, 1899), p. 59.

<sup>47</sup>Howard, Montana, pp. 83-84.

had been silenced, however, and a single company acquired the state's major dailies, the average citizen had no idea whether he was receiving all the news or even part of it.<sup>48</sup>

A well-researched study of the Anaconda press (Amalgamated was dissolved as a holding company in 1915) indicates the company manipulated the news for half a century in Montana. Following its victory over Heinze in 1906, the company increased its economic holdings and used its newspapers to extend its political influence. The study documents the erratic policies of the Anaconda newspapers, which ranged from vicious personal attacks on the company's foes to disregard of local issues. Despite the newspapers' various strategies over the years, the study clearly shows the company press was a self-serving institution that put corporate gain ahead of common weal.<sup>49</sup>

The "captive press" in Montana was described by a national magazine editor as an essential element in Anaconda's domination of the state. He saw Montana as a dual entity made up of the state and the company and caustically condemned Anaconda for using the press to control public opinion.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> John M. Schiltz, "Montana's Captive Press," Montana Opinion, June, 1956, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> Richard T. Ruetten, "Anaconda Journalism: The End of an Era," Journalism Quarterly, XXXVII (Winter, 1960), pp. 4-11.

<sup>50</sup> Oswald G. Villard, "The Press Today: Montana and the 'Company,'" The Nation, July 9, 1930, pp. 39-41.

The record of the press during the copper war, however, suggests Anaconda simply adopted, and perhaps refined, techniques devised by Clark, Daly and Heinze for manipulating public opinion. Newspapers became political weapons during the Clark-Daly feud, and Heinze readily added newspapers to his arsenal when he began his campaign against Amalgamated.<sup>51</sup>

Unlike Clark and Daly, however, and unlike the corporation that finally crushed him, Heinze demonstrated a peculiar genius for exploiting popular beliefs and prejudices, and persuading many people he shared their feelings and was a spokesman for their cause. That singular genius was an ability to discern populist sentiment in Butte around 1900, and provide an outlet for its expression.

Historian Richard Hofstadter suggests populism was the first modern political movement in the U. S. to tackle the problems created by industrialism and to insist the federal government was responsible for the common good. He attributes the rise of populism to the complacency prevalent amid the social corruption and economic exploitation that polluted American life for a generation after

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<sup>51</sup>Heinze's newspapers were unable to successfully challenge the power of the Amalgamated press. In 1902 the Reveille claimed a guaranteed circulation of 10,000. The figure is unreliable, though, because the paper often was distributed to major Montana cities and in some cases given away. A year after the Butte Evening News was established, the paper announced its circulation had increased from 2,750 on March 1, 1904, to 9,820 on March 1, 1905. Neither

the Civil War. The historian traces the course of populist protest and criticism from the 1890s to the beginning of World War I.<sup>52</sup>

Hofstadter identifies seven themes that run through populist thought, themes that were nurtured by a longing to return to the agrarian past, the rural society of the early 19th Century. The themes are:

1) The idea of a golden age--A belief that an earlier era in which the agricultural class was dominant was a time of prosperity for everyone.

2) Social dualism--A belief that society was divided into two camps; the laborers, farmers and small merchants were on one side, the monopolies, great corporations and money powers were on the other.

3) A sense of doom--A shared anxiety that the trusts and plutocrats would win in a contest that allowed no room for compromise.

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the Reveille nor the Evening News carried Heinze's name as publisher. E. G. Leipheimer said, though, Heinze paid the expenses of both papers. P. A. O'Farrell complained in 1902 that William A. Clark had failed to keep his promise to pay one-half of the advertising expenses he and Heinze incurred during the 1900 campaign. O'Farrell said the campaign cost the "Heinze news bureau and publishing department \$40,000-\$50,000. . . ." and Clark did not pay a cent. He also said the Reveille, which he described as the "chief anti-Standard Oil paper," cost "an enormous amount of money"--but he did not quote a specific figure. See: Reveille, November 7, 1902, p. 5; November 14, 1902, p. 8. Also: Butte Evening News, March 1, 1905, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup>Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), pp. 1-61.



4) A resentment of political corruption--A widely held assumption that political institutions had been corrupted and the press muzzled.

5) A belief that labor was impoverished--A fear that capitalists would crush the union movement and lower wages.

6) Acceptance of the conspiracy theory of history--The belief that international money powers manipulated events and profited from hard times.

7) An appearance of anti-militarism--In reality an objection to standing armies and imperialism, but a susceptibility to jingoism and nationalism.<sup>53</sup>

An unlikely coalition was formed after 1900, according to Hofstadter, with a union between rural populists and urban progressives. The leadership for the coalition came from progressives like Theodore Roosevelt, Henry and Brooks Adams and Henry Cabot Lodge. The leaders came from an eastern elite; they were men of wealth and status who generally despised the populists but shared their feelings of impotence and humiliation when confronted by the "predatory capitalists" and ruthless corporate leaders who were dominating the country.<sup>54</sup>

In Hofstadter's view, the progressives were more moderate than the populists; they appreciated the com-

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-85.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., pp. 91-133.

plexity of the issues. For example, the progressives recognized the advantages of industrial consolidation, saw the potential threat of union power, felt an obligation to treat immigrants humanely and accepted responsibility for political corruption. Progressives also were basically conservative and embraced laissez faire economic theories. Despite their conservatism and contempt of the rural and urban masses, the progressives gradually embraced popular government, opposed plutocracy and helped enact many of the reforms proposed nearly 20 years earlier by the populists.<sup>55</sup>

Heinze used the Reveille--and to a much lesser extent the Evening News--to appeal to populist sentiment.<sup>56</sup> He echoed the populist prejudices in his speeches. He advocated populist reforms. To a degree, Heinze resembled the eastern progressive--he was born into a family of moderate wealth and status, educated in New York and Europe and accepted the laissez faire business attitude of the day. And like the eastern progressives, Heinze

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 134-48.

<sup>56</sup>Populism in Montana differed sharply from the national movement, which was based primarily on agrarian discontent. The Montana Populist party, formed in 1892, comprised trade unionists, farmers, businessmen and urban, middle class advocates of reform. Butte, Anaconda, Helena and Great Falls were populist strongholds. The free silver issue was important to Montana Populists because it meant full employment in the mines and a healthy economy. Populists in Montana also advocated the eight-hour work day, mine safety legislation and Chinese exclusion; they opposed

provided the leadership for workingmen and merchants who subscribed to populist views.

O'Farrell, too, resembled the progressive leaders. He described himself as a Jeffersonian Democrat and praised the small land owner. O'Farrell wrote many stories in the Reveille lauding the Pacific Northwest as a utopia--a region of agricultural abundance and natural beauty.

In his speeches and in the press, Heinze exploited the dual vision of social struggle. He repeatedly portrayed himself as a champion of the small people in a struggle against Rockefeller and Rogers, against Standard Oil and the "copper trust."

The populist's sense of doom frequently was expressed in the Reveille's editorials and cartoons. Readers were warned unions would be crushed, laborers enslaved, independent merchants driven out of business and democracy extinguished should the plutocrats and the "Standard Oil copper trust" win the struggle in Montana.

The muzzled press was one of the Reveille's favorite targets. O'Farrell delighted in describing the Amalgamated

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company stores and corporate espionage. When Amalgamated threatened the union movement, labor--the backbone of populism in Montana--sought a new political spokesman. The Populist party lost strength after 1900; the party was forced to form coalitions with other parties. By 1906 populism had faded away in Montana. See: Thomas Anthony Clinch, "Populism and Bimetallism in Montana," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1964), pp. 219-25.

newspapers as a "reptile press" and accusing them of serving as Rockefeller's mouthpiece. Heinze rarely delivered a speech that did not include an attack on the corporate control of Montana's press. He also accused the "copper trust" of controlling and corrupting the political institutions of the state.

The Reveille made effective use of cartoons to instill in its readers a hatred of eastern capitalists and giant corporations. Butte's laboring class often was reminded Heinze stood for higher wages and shorter work days, but Rockefeller and Standard Oil represented low wages, poor working conditions, foreign labor and a paid militia.

Heinze cleverly played on the populist belief that international money powers and Wall Street financiers manipulated events, by telling his audiences Rogers and Rockefeller had formed Amalgamated as a combine to control the world's copper market. The Reveille frequently reminded its readers Heinze lived and worked in Butte, while Rockefeller controlled his vast corporate domain from New York.

The Reveille's admiration for Theodore Roosevelt suggests O'Farrell and Heinze recognized the President's popularity in Montana. The paper did not endorse or encourage jingoism, though, perhaps because Heinze's strategy was to restrict the Reveille's outlook to local

issues, to focus attention on the anti-trust struggle in Montana.

Heinze built a political movement on populist aspirations and fears; he championed the cause of the workingman in a crusade against monopoly in Montana. The movement was held together largely by Heinze's dynamic personality and intellectual strength, and it was driven by a legitimate fear that a powerful corporation would lower wages, eliminate competition and restrict individual freedom.

Heinze earned the trust and support of many of Butte's citizens by supporting their fight for a better life. He betrayed that trust, lost that support and left a legacy of corporate rule in Butte when he subverted the movement for personal gain and sold out not only his properties but his pledges to stand by the people.

## CONCLUSION

The Reveille was a paper of paradoxes. It was a weekly that tried to compete with dailies; it was concerned primarily with local issues but crusaded against John D. Rockefeller and Standard Oil; it championed the working-man's cause but opposed the socialist movement; it endorsed populist reforms but manipulated public opinion for the benefit of an aspiring capitalist; it attacked the "muzzled press" but frequently distorted and suppressed news; it backed the candidacy of friendly politicians but vilified them if they became disloyal officeholders.

The Reveille was a distinctive paper. It made effective use of bold political cartoons, often on the front page. It sometimes devoted the front page to one topic, and the paper frequently appeared in a crusading format, promoting a single cause or issue.

The Reveille was backed by F. Augustus Heinze; it promoted his political fortunes and protected his business ventures. William A. Clark and Marcus Daly had set the pattern of using the press in Montana for personal gain; Heinze effectively followed their example.

Heinze had risen to power by allying himself with Clark in the 1900 campaign, granting his miners a shorter

work day and attacking Amalgamated as a "Standard Oil copper trust." Clark had the resources to achieve his political ambitions with money. Heinze had to rely on his personality and control of public opinion, though, to maintain power. The Reveille was his primary means of influencing public opinion.

Although he was born in the east, educated in Europe and New York and established a successful industrial enterprise, Heinze effectively appealed to populist fears and aspirations. He shrewdly offered himself as an advocate of the laborers and small merchants in a crusade against a "copper trust" masterminded by Wall Street plutocrats. He accused Standard Oil magnates John D. Rockefeller and Henry H. Rogers of conspiring to crush the labor movement, eliminate competition, corrupt Montana's public institutions and steal the state's resources.

In a carefully orchestrated crusade, Heinze warned in public speeches of Standard Oil perfidy in Montana, while P. A. O'Farrell used the Reveille to call on the state's citizens to support Heinze in his struggle against the "evil trust" on behalf of the workingmen. Heinze and O'Farrell played on populist prejudices by accusing Amalgamated of maintaining a "muzzled press" in Montana, forecasting dire consequences should the "copper trust" win the fight against the small people and portraying Amal-

gamated officials as traitors to their Irish kinsmen.

O'Farrell also appealed to the populist longing for a return to an earlier agrarian age by comparing prospectors and mine operators to sturdy, independent pioneers, and describing the Pacific Northwest as a land of opportunity, rich in agricultural and mineral resources and breathtaking in natural beauty. He endorsed reform legislation advocated by the populists but suggested business leaders like Heinze were best able to secure the needed changes.

Despite Heinze's professed sympathy for the little man in the struggle against corporate monopoly, the Reveille often acted against the best interests of the workingman and small merchant. O'Farrell's effort to link socialism with a Standard Oil scheme to split the labor vote in Montana is an example of the Reveille's protection of Heinze's industrial interests and political organization at the expense of the laborer.

Although he was able to build a strong political base in Silver Bow County, Heinze was unable to gain control of the state or even continue in power in Butte. That failure was largely the result of Amalgamated's willingness to use economic intimidation by shutting its Montana operations and the company's skill in using its press to attack the anti-trust movement and create doubt about Heinze's pledges to remain in Butte as a champion of the little



people in the struggle against monopoly.

Heinze was put on the defensive following the Amalgamated shutdown and special legislative session in 1903, and he was unable to expand his political power or regain control of public opinion. The establishment of the Butte Evening News was an effort by Heinze to compete more effectively for control of public opinion, but the new daily was no match for the powerful Amalgamated press.

The Reveille's loss of interest in the anti-trust crusade following the 1904 election was a clear indication Heinze had given up the fight against Amalgamated. The sale of his mining interests in February, 1906, was more than a business transaction. It was a betrayal of public trust—Heinze had callously manipulated the desires and frustrations of many common people for his personal ambition and economic gain. He left his supporters without a champion in their struggle for a better life. Heinze also left his adversary, the Amalgamated Copper Company, in nearly complete control of Montana's political institutions, economic life and press.

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## INTERVIEWS

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- Interview with Mrs. Peggy Kilroy Verstappen, Butte, Montana, August 6, 1968.